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LIVES:

VOLUME *the* SECOND.

CONTAINING

THEMISTOCLES. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

CAMILLUS. ALCIBIADES.

PERICLES. CORIOLANUS.

Translated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*

From M. D A C I E R.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. T O N S O N in the *Strand*.

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Vol: 2: p: 5:

Lud, Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.



THE
L I F E
O F
THEMISTOCLES.

THE Family of *Themistocles* (1) was too obscure for him to draw any Lustre from thence, or to make his Glory shine the brighter. His Father *Neocles* was none of the most splendid of *Athens*, but of the Ward of (2) *Phrear*, and of the Tribe

(1) An exalted Birth is like a flaming Torch, which gives a Lustre to a Man's whole Life, and sets his meanest Actions in a favourable Light; whereas if he had been of a mean Birth, they wou'd have been lost in Obscurity.

(2) This Ward was situated on the Banks of the Sea near the *Piræus*, and was so called from a Well remarkable for this Singularity. Those who had been banish'd for the Commission of an involuntary Murder, and who, before they were restor'd, had been accus'd of having voluntarily committed another, were obliged to appear and take their Tryal before Judges sitting in Court near

that Well. But forasmuch as Those, who were under the Sentence of Banishment, were not suffer'd to tread on *Attick* Ground, and yet that it was not just to suffer a new Crime to go unpunish'd, or to punish it without hearing the Defence of the Accus'd, a *Salvo* was found by summoning the Accus'd, and obliging him to repair thither in a Boat, out of which he made his Defence without landing; so he sav'd his Appearance, and without violating the Ban, made a Satisfaction to Justice. *Demosthenes* makes mention of this Tribunal in his Oration against *Aristocrates*, where it is call'd *δικαστήριον ἐν φρεατίῳ*.

of *Leontes*; and by his Mother's side, as it is reported, he was (1) Illegitimate.

*I am not of the Noble Græcian Race,
I'm poor Abrotanon, and born in Thrace:
Yet 'mong the Greeks my Fame shall never cease,
For them I brought forth great Themistocles.*

Yet *Phanias* writes that the Mother of *Themistocles* was not of *Thracia*, but of *Caria*, and that her Name was not *Abrotanon* but *Euterpe*: And *Neanthes* adds further, that she was of the City of *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*: Upon which Consideration, when (2) the Strangers, and Those that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercise at (3) *Cynosarges* (a wrestling Place without the Gates dedicated to *Hercules*, who was also under some Illegitimacy, and was not one of the great Immortal Gods, but had a Mortal Woman for his Mother) *Themistocles* persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him, to anoint and exercise themselves together at *Cynosarges*; in

(1) The Original imports *Bastard*, which wants some Explanation, for it is a Term that does not only signify a Person born out of Wedlock, but one born of a foreign Father and Mother, tho' married in the strictest Forms. *Carystius* in the 3d Book of his Commentaries. saith, that an Orator call'd *Aristophon* had got a Law past when *Euclide* was Archon. declaring that every Citizen who had a Foreigner to his Mother should be deem'd a *Bastard*. and should be consequently incapable of inheriting his Father's Estate. This gave the Poet *Callias* a Handle to jeer *Aristophon* afterward, and upbraided him with the *Bastard Chloris* the Courtezan had father'd upon him.

(2) This was a very good and laudable Custom, serving to prevent such Citizens as were the Issue of foreign Mothers from corrupting the true-born *Athenians* by their barbarous Customs, and vicious Habits. For the same Reason has God himself forbidden his People to admit Bastards into their solemn Assemblies. *A Bastard shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord. even to his tenth Generation he shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, Deut. xxiii. 2.*

(3) *Cynosarges* was a large Inclosure wherein were Altars erected to *Hercules Hebe, Alcmena,* and *Iolaus*.

doing

doing which, he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between Those of the whole and Those of the half Blood of *Athens*. However, it is certain that he was related to the House of the (1) *Lycomedians*, for *Simonides* reports that he rebuilt the (2) Chapel of *Phlye* belonging to that Family, and beautified it with Pictures and other Ornaments, after it had been burnt by the *Persians*.

It is confess'd by all, that from his Youth he was of an impetuous Nature, full of Spirit, Apprehensive, and of a good Understanding; that he discovered early a Genius fit for Action and the Management of publick Affairs: For the Vacations and Times of Recreation from his Studies, he spent not in Play or in Idleness, as other Youths, but would be always inventing or putting in order some Oration or Declamation, the Subject of which was generally the excusing or accusing his Companions; so that his Master would often say to him, *Boy, thou canst never be any thing mean or indifferent, but must at some time or other prove either a most Heroick Glorious Blessing, or a most Destructive Plague and Ruin to thy Country.* (3) He received very slowly and negligently such Instructions as were given him

(1) The *Lycomedians* were a Family among the *Athenians*, that had the Intendency of the Sacrifices offer'd to *Ceres*, and the Goddesses of the first Rank, for whom the Poet *Musæus* compos'd a Hymn, which was perform'd on those Occasions. *Pausanias* makes mention of them in two or three Places in his Works.

(2) That is the Inclosure wherein that Family perform'd their Initiations, and celebrated their Mysteries. It is the same with That which *Pausanias* calls Κλήσιον λυκομηδῶν. *Phlye* was a Borough belonging to the Tribe of *Cecrops*, so call'd from one *Phlyus*,

who was a Son of the Earth.

(3) It was not that *Themistocles* contemn'd those Acquirements, which are so necessary in the forming a Gentleman, but he was not so fond of them as Those, who look'd no further, but made their whole Learning terminate in that Point, which a Man wou'd never do, who has a desire to make a Figure in the State, and be useful to his Country. Besides *Themistocles* was of too fiery a Spirit to be ty'd down to such Studies, which require Time, Patience, and Sedateness. A Man of his hasty impetuous Temper, is to be instructed only by Action.

to improve his Manners and Behaviour, or to teach him a genteel or graceful Deportment; but whatever was delivered to him to improve him in Prudence, or in the Management of publick Affairs, he would apprehend immediately, and understand it beyond one of his Years, for in such Things he followed his natural Inclinations: For which Reason being long after reflected on in an Assembly by some who past for Persons more accomplished in what is call'd good Breeding, and genteel Education, he took them up very short, and told them something bluntly, *It is true, I never learn'd to touch the Lute, or play upon the Harp; but if you will commit to my Charge a City never so obscure and inconsiderable, I can tell how to make it great and flourishing.* Yet notwithstanding This, *Stesimbrotus* says, That *Themistocles* was a Hearer of *Anaxagoras*, and that he studied natural Philosophy under (1) *Melissus*; but he must needs err in the Time, for *Melissus* was Commander of the *Samians*, when *Pericles* made War against *Samos*; now *Themistocles* was much elder than *Pericles*, whereas *Anaxagoras* was his Cotemporary. They are therefore rather to be credited, who report, that *Themistocles* was an earnest follower of (2) *Mnesiphilus* the *Phrearian*, who was neither Orator nor natural Philosopher,

(1) This *Melissus* was of *Samos*, and had been the Disciple of *Parmenides*. He maintain'd the Universe was unchangeable, immovable, always One, always the same, and always full. He affirm'd there was no such Thing as Motion, tho' there seem'd to be such, and taught that Men ought not to speak of the Gods, of whom they cou'd have no certain Idea. These abstracted Speculations did not exercise all his Thoughts, for he applied himself with great Earnestness to Politicks, wherein he suc-

ceeded so well, that the *Samians* made him their Admiral. He was in that Post when *Pericles* besieged, and took *Samos*, which was in the last Year of the 84th Olympiad.

(2) I do not remember to have read any where else of this *Mnesiphilus*, and it is something surprising that a Man that was so much a Master of the Art of Government, and had *Themistocles* for his Pupil, should be so entirely unknown.

(1) but

(1) but a Professor of that which was then called Wisdom, or a Prudence exercised in ordering publick Concerns, and an accurate Understanding and Judgment in Affairs of State: which Profession being begun by *Solon*, was preserved successively as a Sect of Philosophy; but those who came afterwards, and mixed it with Pleadings and Disputes in Law, and transferred the practical Part of it to a mere Art of Speaking, and Exercise of Words and Terms, were generally call'd Sophists. However *Themistocles*, when he entred upon Affairs of State, applied himself to *Mnesiphilus*.

In the first motions of his Youth he was not regular nor well poised, drawing the lines of his Affairs according to his own natural Fancy, without Reason or Instruction; and made great alterations in his designs on the one hand and on the other; (2) and very often determined for the worst, as he afterwards confess'd, saying, Ragged Colts make the best Horses, when They come to be well taught and managed. But those who upon this account do erroneously raise Reports of his being disinherited by his Father, and that his Mother died for grief of her Son's Lewdness, do certainly most falsely calumniate him; and there are Divers who relate to the contrary, how that to deter him from dealing in the Publick, and to let him see how the Populace are wont to behave towards their Leaders when they have no further use of them, his Father shewed him the old Galleys

(1) For the first Sages were in reality consummate Politicians, forming Rules and Precepts for the Government of Communities. *Thales* was the first, who, laying aside Politicks, apply'd himself to Physicks. All the Rest, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Solon*, acquir'd the Reputation of Wisdom only by the great Skill they had in the Science relating to Government.

(2) *Idomeneus* saith that one clear Morning *Themistocles* harness'd four naked Courtezans in a Chariot, and made them draw him cross the *Ceramicus* in the sight of all the People, who were there assembled, and That at a time when the *Athenians* were perfect Strangers to Debauch either of Wine, or Women.

as they lay neglected and forsaken upon the Seashore, without any care taken of them. Yet it is evident, that early, even in his younger Years, *Themistocles* shew'd a strong Inclination to that Honour that is usually got by serving in Publick Employments; in which being earnest to be the first, from the very beginning he by his Rashness created to himself the hatred of the most powerful and chiefest in the City, but more especially of *Aristides* the Son of *Lyfimachus*, who always opposed him; and yet all this great Enmity between them seem'd to have but a light beginning, for they both were in love with the fair *Stesileus* of *Teios*, as *Ariston* the Philosopher relates: and from that time they perpetually contended with their Parties and Factions in the Commonwealth. Not but that the disagreeableness of their Lives and Manners may seem to have encreased the difference; for *Aristides* was of a mild Nature, good and fair conditioned, and governing all things for the best, with a due regard to Justice and the publick Safety, with None to Glory or popular Applause; and yet he was often forc'd to oppose *Themistocles*, and to stand up against the encrease of his Authority, because he stirr'd up the People to many attempts, and brought in great innovations: for it is said that *Themistocles* was so transported with the thoughts of Glory, and so inflamed with the desire of performing great Actions, that altho' he were but young when the Battle of *Marathon* was fought against the *Persians*, and the warlike Conduct of their General *Miltiades* was every where noised about, he was taken notice of to be thoughtful, and to go meditating many things alone by himself, to pass the Nights without sleep, and to refuse his accustomed Meetings and Recreations; and to those who wondred at this change in his manner of living, and demanded the reason of it, he gave this Answer, *That the Trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep;*
and

and when Others were of Opinion that the Battel of *Marathon* would put an end to the War, *Themistocles* thought that it was but (1) the beginning of far greater Conflicts, for which he prepared himself continually, for the good of all *Greece*, and exercised the City, (2) as one foreseeing at a great distance what was likely to come to pass. And first of all, the *Athenians* being accustomed to distribute the Revenue proceeding from the Silver Mine at *Laurion* amongst themselves, he was the only Man that durst propose to the People, that this Distribution should cease, and that with the Money Ships should be built to make War against the *Æginetes*, who were the most flourishing People in *Greece*, and by the number of their Ships held the Sovereignty of the Sea: and to this *Themistocles* did easily persuade them, (3) not by stirring them up against *Xerxes* or the *Persians*, who were at a great distance, and their coming was very uncertain, and at that time not much to be feared;

(1) For he did not question but *Darius* would at length understand that the only way to deal with the *Grecians* was to attack them vigorously by Sea, which was to touch them in their most sensible Part.

(2) No one ever could foresee the Event of Things with a surer Eye than *Themistocles*, for which Reason *Thucydides* deservedly gives him this Character ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ γανησομένον ἀριστος εἰκαστής.

(3) *Thucydides* however assures us that he made use of both those Arguments to bring the *Athenians* to his Purpose, not only the War against the *Æginetes*, but the Apprehensions they were under of the Return of the *Persians*. And *Plato* in his third Book *de Legibus* observes expressly that every day there was News at *Athens* of *Da-*

rius his formidable Preparations; and the same Accounts that brought Advice of *Darius* his Death, assured them likewise that his Son *Xerxes* inherited his Father's Resentments, whose Designs he was preparing to put into Execution; and all This threw them into a great Consternation. It is very natural therefore to think that *Themistocles* made use of this Incident to persuade them to apply themselves to maritime Affairs, to the end they might be in a Condition to oppose a Prince that was coming against them with a Fleet of more than a thousand Sail. *Plutarch* chose rather to follow *Herodotus*, who only tells us that *Themistocles* obliged the *Athenians* to build two hundred Gallies in order to carry on the War against the *Æginetes*.

but

but by seasonably making use of the Emulation, Hatred and Anger of the *Athenians* against the *Æginetes*, he induc'd them to raise Preparations. So that with this Money an hundred Ships were built, with which they afterwards fought against *Xerxes*; and from this beginning he by degrees perswaded the *Athenians* to build nearer and nearer to the Sea, making it evident to them, that those who on Land were not a fit match for their Neighbours, with their Ships might be able to free themselves even from the *Persians*, and become the Rulers of *Greece*. So that, as *Plato* says, instead of making then a standing *Militia*, and stout Soldiers that would not give way in Fight, he turned them into Mariners and Seamen tossed about the Sea, and gave occasion for this Reproach against him, That he took away from the *Athenians* the Spear and the Shield, and bound them to the Bank and the Oar. These things he performed, getting the better of *Miltiades*, who opposed him, as *Stesimbrotus* relates: but whether he did not by this means corrupt the Publick Manners may be matter of Enquiry for Philosophers. But that the deliverance of *Greece* came at that time from the Sea, and that those Gallies establish'd the City of *Athens* again after it had been destroyed; to omit other Proofs, *Xerxes* himself is a sufficient Witness; who tho' his Land Forces were still entire, after he had been worsted at Sea, fled away, and thought himself no ways able to encounter them. And it seems to me, that he left *Mardonius* behind him, not out of any hopes he could have to bring them into Subjection, but to hinder the *Greeks* from pursuing him.

(1) *Themistocles* is said by Some to be very intent

(1) These Authors would put a Gloss upon <i>Themistocles</i> his darling Vice, which was Avarice, and an inordinate Love of Money. In Proof of which we need only	read the 8th Book of <i>Herodotus</i>. But on the other hand how shall we make his Avarice consistent with his constant Donatives, whenever the Interest of the Publick was
--	--

tent upon heaping up Riches, that he might be the more liberal; (for loving to sacrifice often, and to be splendid in his entertainment of Strangers, he stood in need of a plentiful Revenue;) yet he is accused by Others of being naturally parsimonious, and sordid to that degree, that he would sell the Provision which was presented him. He desired *Philides*, who was a Breeder of Horses, to give him a Colt; and when he refused it, he threatned him that in a short time he would turn his House into a Horse of wood, like the *Trojan* Horse; intimating thereby that he would stir up strife and contests between Him and those of his own Family and Relations.

He went beyond all men in Ambition and desire of Honour, and when he was but young and not known in the World, he desired *Epicles* of *Hermiona*, (1) who had a very good hand at the Lute, and was much esteemed by the *Athenians*, to come and practise at his House, hoping that the desire which the World had of hearing him perform upon the Lute would draw many Persons thither. When he came to the *Olympian* Games, and was so splendid in his Equipage and Entertainments, in his rich Tents and Furniture, that 'twas evident his Intention was to outdo *Cimon*, he displeased the *Greeks*; who thought that such Magnificence might be allow'd of in one who was a young Gentleman and of a great Family; but a great piece of Insolence in Him to carry himself thus high (2) who was an Upstart, and of no

was concern'd? Probably this Covetousness in *Themistocles* was the Covetousness of an ambitious Politician, who heaped up Riches to the End there might not be wanting, on Occasion, a Fund necessary to carry on his important Designs.

(1) Those *Lutenists* were very much esteem'd, not only in *Greece*, but even among the *Barbarians*.

They were Persons of a grave sedate Temper, and did not confine themselves to singing, and playing on the Lute, but meddled likewise with State Affairs, as is evident from a thousand Examples in antient History.

(2) We see here what Opinion the *Athenians* had of Those, who took upon them to make a Figure unsuitable to their Birth, or Fortune.

confi-

considerable Fortune. He set out a Tragedy at his own Expence, and won the Prize with his Tragedians, in those times (1) when they pursued those Sports with great Eagerness and Ambition, and set up a Table of his Victory with this Inscription; "*Themistocles the Phrearian* was at the Charge of it, (2) *Phrynicus* made it, *Adymantus* was Archon. He was well beloved by the common People, as he would salute every particular Citizen by his own Name, and as he always shew'd himself a just Judge of Controversies between private Men; and he said to (3) *Simonides*, a Poet of *Chios*, who desired something of him, when he was Commander of the Army, that was not reasonable, *Simonides*, you would be no good Poet if you should go contrary to the due Measures and Rules of Poetry, nor should I be a good Magistrate, if for favour or affection I should go contrary to the Law. And at another time laughing at *Simonides* he told him,

(1) Tragedy was just then arriv'd at its Perfection, and the *Athenians* had so great a Taste for it that whenever the Magistrates or wealthy Citizens were to entertain the People, they cou'd not do it more effectually than by exhibiting to them the best Tragedies with the utmost Magnificence. This was the Ground of great Emulation, whilst every one endeavoured to outvie his Rival, not only in the Costliness of the Habits, the Magnificence and Decorations of the Scenes, but in the Beauty of the Piece, and the Merit and Reputation of the Poet of whom they bought it.

(2) He was a Tragick Poet, the Disciple of *Thespis*, and Contemporary of *Æschylus*. He was the first who brought Women Actors on the Stage. His chief Plays were *Actæon*, *Alcestes*, and the *Danaïdes*.

(3) Instead of *Simonides* of *Chios*,

which is a Fault of the Copists, it should be of *Ceos*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, of which He was a Native; for which Reason *Horace* calls his Plaintive Verses *Cæa Munera Nania*. Besides those Verses wherein are described the Misfortunes that arriv'd to several Persons, he wrote two Poems on the Battles of *Marathon* and *Salamine*; and was the Author of several Odes, and Elegies. He was much in the Favour of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*, and of *Hiero* of *Sicily*. And yet he did not receive so much Honour from the Friendship and Esteem of those two Princes, as from the Epithet given him by *Plato*, who calls him the *Divine*, an Epithet shewing us how we ought to judge of his Merit. He died in the first Year of the 78th *Olympiad*, at almost Ninety Years of Age; so that he was very near fourscore when he described the Battle of *Salamine*.

That

That he was a Man of little Judgment to speak against the Corinthians, who were Inhabitants of a great and beautiful City, and to have his own Picture drawn so often, having such an ill-favour'd Face.

When he came to be great, and had won the Favour of the People, he stirred up a Party against *Aristides*, that expelled him, and banished him out of the City by their publick Votes. When the King of *Persia* was coming down into *Greece*, and the *Athenians* were in Consultation who should be their General, and Many withdrew themselves of their own Accord, being terrified with the greatness of the Danger; there was one *Epicycles* an Orator, Son to *Euphemides*, a Man who was powerful in Speech and of an eloquent Tongue, but of a faint Heart and a narrow Soul, a mere Slave to Riches; this Man was desirous of the Command, and was look'd upon to be in a fair way to carry it by the number of Votes: but *Themistocles* fearing, that if the Government should fall into such a Man's Hands, all would be lost, he bought out *Epicycles*; and for a good Sum of Money caused him to desist from his Pretensions.

When the King of *Persia* sent Messengers into *Greece*, with a *Greek* Interpreter, to demand (1) Water and Earth as an acknowledgment of their Subjection and Obedience to him, *Themistocles*, by the consent of the People, seiz'd upon the Interpreter, and put him to Death, for presuming to publish the Orders and Decrees of the King of *Persia* in the *Grecian* Language: and for This he was highly honoured by the *Greeks*; as also for what he did to *Arthmius* of (2) *Zelea*, who
for

(1) When the Kings of *Persia* required any State or People to submit to them, and become their Subjects, their Custom was, to send and demand of them Earth and Water; intimating thereby an

absolute Subjection, signified by their surrendering to them two Things so immediately necessary to Life.

(2) *Zelea*, or rather *Zelee*. for the former was a Town in *Troas*. and

for bringing Gold from the King of *Persia* to corrupt the *Grecians*, was by an Order from *Themistocles* degraded from all Honour, and registred in the Book of Infamy, He, and his Children, and his Posterity: But that which most of all redounded to his Honour, was, that he put an End to all the Civil Wars of *Greece*, compos'd their Differences, and perswaded them to lay aside all Enmity during the War with the *Persians*; and in this great work *Chileus* the *Arcadian* was very assisting to him.

Having taken upon himself the Command of the *Athenian* Forces, he immediately endeavoured to persuade the Citizens to leave the City, and to embark themselves upon their Gallies, and to meet with the *Persians* at a great Distance from *Greece*: But Many being against This, he led a great Army (the *Lacedæmonians* having join'd him) into *Tempe*; that in so narrow a Valley, bounded on each side with high Rocks, he might the more easily defend the *Thessalians*, who had not as yet declar'd for the King. But when they return'd without performing any thing, and it was known that not only the *Thessalians*, but all as far as *Bœotia* had yielded to *Xerxes*; then the *Athenians* more willingly hearkned to the Advice of *Themistocles* to fight by Sea, and sent him with a Fleet to guard the Straits of *Artemisium*.

When the *Grecian* Fleets were joined, the *Greeks* would have the *Lacedæmonians* to command, and

and This a City in *Asia Minor*, lying between *Cappadocia* and the *Euxin* Sea. This *Arthmius* therefore must have been an *Asiatick* settled at *Athens*. And this appears manifestly in *Æschines* his Oration against *Ctesiphon*, wherein the Orator saith to the *Athenians*, *Arthmius* of *Zelee*, who came and settled at *Athens*, and to whom the *Athenians* had publickly granted

Rights of Hospitality, narrowly escaped being condemned to Death by your Ancestors, for having brought into *Greece* the Gold of the *Medes*; but they contented themselves with banishing him with the Sound of the Trumpet, not only out of the City, but out of all the Dominions of *Attica*. And is it not a Shame for you, &c.

Eury-

Eurybiades to be their Admiral; but the *Athenians*, (1) who surpassed all the rest in number of Vessels, would not condescend to come after any other; till *Themistocles*, perceiving (2) the Danger of this Contest, yielded the Command to *Eurybiades*, and got the *Athenians* to submit, extenuating the Loss, by persuading them, that if in this War they behaved themselves like Men, the *Grecians* for the future of their own accord would give Them the chief Command. And by this Moderation of his, it is evident, that he was the great Author of the Safety of *Greece*; and carried on the *Athenians* to that height of Glory, that they surpass'd their Enemies in Valour, and their Friends and Confederates in Kindness and Civility.

As soon as the *Persian* Armada arrived at (3) *Aphetae*, *Eurybiades* was astonished to see such a vast number of Vessels before him; and being informed that two hundred more sail'd about behind the Island of *Sciathus*, (4) with a design to surround him, he immediately determin'd to retire farther into *Greece*, and to sail back into some part of *Peleponnesus*, where their Land Army and their Fleet might join; for he

(1) This appears from the Catalogue *Herodotus* has given us in the Beginning of his eighth Book; for he there tells us, that the *Athenians* furnish'd 127 Vessels, and that the whole Complement of the rest of the *Grecians* amounted to no more than 151, out of which 20 belong'd likewise to the *Athenians*, who had lent them to the *Chalcidians*. So that 147 of those Ships belong'd to the *Athenians*, and no more than 131 to the other States.

(2) *Herodotus* saith it would in the Event have been the Ruin of *Greece*, for the Confederates had declared One and All that they

wou'd withdraw if the chief Command was not given to a *Lacedaemonian*.

(3) A Maritime Town on the Borders of *Magnesia*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Thessalonica*, in the *Ægean* Sea. It was so call'd, because the *Argonautes* set sail from thence.

(4) This they might have done by coasting the *Eubœan* Island near *Caphareus* and *Gerastrus*, where they might have enter'd the *Eurippus*, by which Means the *Grecian* Fleet, which lay at *Artemisium*, would have been invested on all Sides.

looked upon the *Persian* Forces to be altogether invincible by Sea. But the *Eubæans*, fearing that the *Greeks* would forsake them, and leave them to the Mercy of the Enemy, sent *Pelagon* to discourse privately with *Themistocles*, and with him a good Sum of Money, which he accepted, and (1) gave it to *Eurybiades*, as *Herodotus* reports. But an *Athenian* call'd *Architeles*, who was Commander of (2) the sacred Galley, and wanted Money to pay his Crew, oppos'd him in his Designs, and was for returning without Delay. For this Reason *Themistocles* so incensed his Countrymen against him, that they boarded his Ship, and took what he had provided for his Supper from him; and whilst *Architeles*, much surpriz'd at this Insult, was preparing to make his Complaint, *Themistocles* sent him in a Chest a Service of all Provisions, and at the Bottom of it a Talent of Silver, desiring him to sup quietly that Night, and to provide for his Seamen and Soldiers in the Morning; if not, he would report it amongst the *Athenians*, that he had received Money from the Enemy. Thus *Phanias* the *Lesbian* relates it.

Tho' (3) the several Engagements between the *Greeks* and the *Persians* in the Streights of *Eubæa* were not so great in the whole as to be any thing like a Determination of the War; yet the Experience

(1) *Plutarch* puts this Story in a Light the most favourable to *Themistocles*. *Herodotus* does not tell it in this Manner; on the contrary, he saith in express Terms, that of the 30 Talents presented to him by the *Eubæans*, he sent Five to *Eurybiades*, Three to a Captain of the *Corinthians*, and that he kept the Remainder in his own Pocket.

(2) So was the Vessel call'd that was sent annually with Sacrifices to *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and it was pre-

tended to be the very Ship on board of which *Theseus* had carried into *Crete* the Tribute consisting of fourteen of their Youth, which they were obliged to pay to *Minos*; as has been observed in the Life of *Theseus*.

(3) They came to three several Engagements in three Days time; in the last of which, *Clinias*, the Father of *Alcibiades*, perform'd Wonders. He had at his own Expence fitted out a Ship carrying two hundred Men.

which

which the *Greeks* learn'd hereby was of great Advantage: for thus they effectually understood, that neither the Number of Ships, their Riches and Ornaments, nor the boasting Shouts or Songs of Victory used by the Barbarians, were any ways terrible to Men that dare fight, and were resolved to come hand to hand with their Enemies; these things they were to despise, and to come up close and grapple with their Foes. This the Poet *Pindarus* took notice of, and hath not ill expressed it, speaking of the Fight at *Artemisium*.

(1) *The Sons of Athens, on that happy day,
Open'd to glorious Liberty the way.*

For Boldness and Intrepidity is the beginning of Victory. *Artemisium* is a Maritime Town, to the North of *Estiæa*, and (2) over-against it lies *Olizon*, which is in the Territory that formerly (3) was under *Philoctetes*, where there is a small Temple of *Diana*, by way of distinction call'd *Diana of the East*. This Temple is encompassed with a Wood enclosed with Pillars of white Marble, which if you rub with your Hands, they assume the Colour, and send forth the Smell of Saffron: In one of the Pillars, these Verses are engraved.

*Within these Seas, the brave Athenians shew
Their matchless Valour, when they overthrew*

(1) This Passage was in one of *Pindar's* Odes, which is lost. The Battle at *Artemisium* was in effect the Beginning, and, as it were, a Prelude to the Victory the *Greeks* obtain'd afterwards over the *Persians* at *Salamine*.

(2) *Plutarch* says over-against, in the same Sense as *Virgil*, speaking of *Carthage* saith, *Carthago Italianam contra*. For all the *Pelagick* Gulph, and all *Magnesia* up to the *Macedonian* Sea, lay between

Artemisium and *Olizon*.

(3) This is founded upon the Authority of *Homer*, who in his second *Iliad* saith,

The Troops Methone, or Thaumacia yie's,

*Olizon's Rocks. or Melibæa's Fields,
With Philoctetes sail'd, whose matchless Art*

From the tough Bow directs the feather'd Dart. Pope.

The LIFE of

*The numerous Nations that from Asia spring,
And the great Navy of the Persian King:
And Trophies won by such a glorious Fate
To bright Diana here did consecrate.*

There is a Place still to be seen upon this Shoar, where in the middle of a great heap of Sand, they take out from the bottom a dark Powder like Ashes, or something that hath passed the Fire; and here they think the Shipwrecks and Bodies of the Dead were burnt. As (1) soon as News came from *Thermopylae* to *Artemisium*, informing them that King *Leonidas* was slain, and that *Xerxes* had made himself Master of all the Passages by Land, the Fleet returned back into *Greece*, the *Athenians* having the Command of the Rear, the place of Honour and Danger, as Those who by their former Actions had testified both their Skill and Courage in War.

As *Themistocles* sail'd along the Coast, he took Notice of the Harbours and Places fit for the Enemy's Ships to retire into, and ingraved large Letters in such Stones as he found there by chance, as also in Others which he set up on purpose near to the Landing-places, or where they were to Water. In these Inscriptions he required the *Ionians* to forsake the *Medes*, if it were possible, and come over to

(1) The last Engagement at *Thermopylae*, wherein *Xerxes* forced the Passages of the Mountains, by the Defeat of the *Lacedaemonians*, *Thespians*, and *Thebans*, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same Day with the Battle at *Artemisium*, and the News of it was brought to *Themistocles* by an *Athenian* called *Abronymus*. *Plutarch* makes too slight a Mention of this Action; for tho' it has not any immediate Relation to *Themistocles*, yet it serves to ag-

grandize his Fame, since that Defeat made *Xerxes* more formidable to the *Grecians*. They call'd a narrow Pass on a Mountain that lay between Mount *Oeta* on the West, and the *Meliack* Gulph on the East, *Thermopylae*, that is to say, the Gates of the hot Baths, which were pretty plenty in those Parts. The Gates belong'd to a strong Wall built by the People of *Phocis*, on purpose to hinder the Incurfions of the *Theffalians*.

the

the *Greeks*, who were their antient Founders and Progenitors, and were now hazarding All for their Liberties; but if this could not be done, then to be a hindrance and disturbance to the *Persians*, by attacking them whenever they came upon their Coast. He hoped that these Writings would prevail with the *Ionians* to revolt, or at least raise some great Disorders among them, as they would believe their Fidelity might be suspected by the *Persians*.

Now tho' *Xerxes* had already passed through *Doris*, and invaded the Country of *Phocis*, and had burnt and destroyed the Cities of the *Phocians*, yet the *Greeks* sent them no Relief; and tho' the *Athenians* earnestly desired them to oppose the *Persians* in *Bæotia*, before they could come into *Attica*, as they themselves had given Assistance to the *Greeks* by Sea at *Artemisium*; yet the *Græcians* gave no Ear to their Request, being wholly intent upon *Peloponnesus*, and resolved to gather all their Forces together within the *Isthmus*, and to build a Wall from Sea to Sea in that strait Neck of Land, which parts the *Saronick* Bay from the Gulf of *Corinth*. The *Athenians* were enraged to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time afflicted and dejected at so general a Defection. To fight alone against such a numerous Army was to no purpose, and this only Expedient was left them for the present, to leave their City, and betake themselves to their Ships; which the People were very unwilling to hearken to, making light of Victory or their own Safety, if they were not to be had without forsaking the Temples of their Gods, and exposing the Tombs and Monuments of their Ancestors to the Fury of their Enemies. *Themistocles* being at a loss, and not able to draw the People over to his Opinion by any Human Reason,

(1) he set his Machines on work, as in a Play, and brought in his Divine Revelations, wonderful Signs, Prodigies, Oracles, and mystical Answers of the Gods. The Dragon of *Minerva*, kept in the inward Part of the Temple near to her Statue, served him for a Prodigy : For *Themistocles* having gained the Priests, they gave it out to the People, *that the* (2) *Dragon refused to eat, that the Offerings which were set before it were found untouched; that at last it disappear'd; that the Goddess had left the City, and taken her flight before them towards the Sea.* He often repeated to them the Oracle which bad them trust to Walls of Wood, shewing them that Walls of Wood could signify nothing else but Ships; and that the Island of *Salamine* was not termed miserable or unfortunate by *Apollo*, but (3) *Divine*, intimating thereby, that it

(1) For when the Knot happens to be too strong or intricate to be untied by any humane Force or Skill, Recourse must be had to some Machine, that is, to the Intervention of some Deity. Thus *Horace* in his Art of Poetry.

*Nec Deus interfit nisi dignus Vin-
dice Nodus Inciderit.*

(2) This Dragon had the Guardianship of the Citadel, and was nourish'd in the Temple of *Minerva*.

(3) If *Herodotus* had not been more particular in this historical Point, *Plutarch* would hardly have been intelligible, which I think is a great Fault in an Historian. Every thing in History ought to be clear, and explicable, without the Aid of any foreign Illustrations. The Sense of the *Ænigma* is this; the Oracle concluded with these two Verses,

ὦ Δεῖν Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ
σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

Ἡπῆ σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος,
Ἡ συνίσης.

Divine Salamine, thou wilt destroy the Children of Women, whether Ceres gathers or disperses. These two Verses confounded Those who so understood the Oracle, as to interpret wooden Walls by Ships, for they thought it was meant by it, they should be defeated near *Salamine*. *Themistocles* was the only Person who discover'd the Absurdity of that Explication, and made it appear, that if *Apollo* meant the *Athenians* were to perish near *Salamine*, he would not have call'd it *Divine*, but rather *unfortunate*. That the Menace contain'd in the Prediction related to their Enemies, and that consequently τέκνα γυναικῶν, the *Children of Women*, meant the *Persians*, being so term'd by the Oracle to denote their Cowardise and Effeminacy,

should

should one Day be very fortunate to the *Greeks*. At length (1) his Opinion prevail'd, and he obtain'd a Decree, that the City should be recommended (2) to the Protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddess of the *Athenians*; that they who were of Age to bear Arms, should embark; and that all possible Care should be taken to save the Children, the Women, and the Slaves. This Decree being confirmed, most of the *Athenians* removed their Parents, Wives and Children to *Træzæna*, where they were received very courteously; and the *Træzenians* made an Order of Council, that they should be maintained at the publick Charge, by distributing daily two *Oboli* to every one; that their Children should have leave to gather Fruit where they pleased, and (3) their School-masters paid at the publick Charge for instructing them. This Order was made when *Nicagoras* was Register.

There was (4) no publick Treasure at that time in *Athens*: But the Senate of *Areopagus* (as *Aristotle* says) distributed to every one that was listed eight Drachmas; which was a great help to the setting out of the Fleet. But *Clidemus* ascribes this

(1) *Themistocles* his Opinion so far prevail'd, that the *Athenians* ston'd *Cyrillus*, who maintain'd the contrary. Nay, their Animosities went so far, that the Women ston'd the Wife of that unfortunate Declaimer. The *Athenians* were not for an Orator, or General, that would plunge them into a State of Servitude, tho' happy, and sedate; they even disdain'd to live, if Life was to be preserv'd at no less a Price than the Loss of Glory and Liberty. This Circumstance is finely apply'd by *Demosthenes* in his Oration for the Crown.

(2) This was to have it thought

that they were by no means abandoning their City to the Enemy, being firmly perswaded that *Minerva* was of herself able to defend it against them, without any human Assistance. If she cou'd protect the City, why could she not as well protect the Citizens? They trusted the City to Her, but were too diffident of her Power to commit Themselves to the same Protection. A very merry Distinction!

(3) The *Grecians* never forgot the Education of their Children.

(4) They had employ'd it all in building, and equipping their Ships.

to a Stratagem of *Themistocles*; who when the *Athenians* went down to the Haven of *Piræa*, said; that the Shield wherein the Head of *Medusa* was engraven, was taken away from the Statue of *Minerva*: and he being employed to search for it, and ransacking in all Places, found among their Goods great Sums of Money, which he brought back for the use of the Publick; and with This the Soldiers and Seamen were well provided for their Voyage.

When the whole City of *Athens* were going on Board, it afforded a Spectacle worthy of Pity and Admiration: For who would not commiserate Those who were to leave their Country, and at the same time admire their Courage and Resolution, to see them send away their Fathers and Children before them, and not be moved with the Cries and Tears and last Embracings of their ancient Parents and nearest Relations, when they passed over into the Island? But That which moved Compassion most of all, was, that many old Men, by reason of their great Age, were left behind; and even the tame domestick Animals moved some Pity, running about the Town, clocking, mewling, and howling, as desirous to be carried along with their Masters that had nourished them: Among which it is reported, that *Xantippus* the Father of *Pericles* had a Dog that would not endure to stay behind, but leaped into the Sea, and swam along by the Galley's side till he came to the Island of *Salamine*, where he fainted away and died; and that Part of the Island in which he was buried is still called *The Dog's Grave*.

Among the great Actions of *Themistocles*, the return of *Aristides* was not the least; for before the War he was oppressed by a Faction stirred up by *Themistocles*, and suffered Banishment: But now perceiving that the People regretted the absence

fence of this great Man, and feared that he might go over to the *Persians* to revenge himself, and thereby ruin the affairs of *Greece*, *Themistocles* proposed a Decree, that Those who were banished for a time, might return again, to give what assistance they could to the *Græcians*, both by their Counsel and Valour, with the rest of the *Athenians*.

Eurybiades, by reason of the Greatness of *Sparta*, was Admiral of the *Græcian* Fleet, but yet was faint-hearted in time of Danger, and willing to weigh Anchor and set Sail for the Gulf of *Corinth*, near which the Land Army lay encamped; but *Themistocles* violently opposed him, upon which happened many remarkable Passages: And when *Eurybiades* to blame his Impatience told him, That at the *Olympian Games* They that rise up before the Rest, are lashed; *Themistocles* replied, And They that are left behind are never Crowned. *Eurybiades* lifting up his Staff as if he were going to strike, *Themistocles* minding nothing but the Interest of *Greece*, cry'd, Strike if you will, but hear what I say. *Eurybiades* wondering much at his Moderation, desired him to speak, and *Themistocles* hereby brought him to a better understanding of his Affairs; but One who stood by him told him, that it did not become Those who had neither City nor House, nor any thing left to lose, to persuade Others to relinquish their Habitations, and forsake their Countries. To which *Themistocles* gave this Reply, We have indeed left our Houses and our Walls, base Fellow, not thinking it fit to become Slaves for the sake of those things that have no Life nor Soul; and yet our City is the greatest of all *Greece*, as consisting of two hundred Galleys, which are here to defend You if you please: But if you run away and betray us, as you did once before, the *Greeks* shall soon perceive that the *Athenians*

nians will possess as fair a Country, and (1) as large and free a City as That already lost. These Expressions of *Themistocles* made *Eurybiades* suspect, that if he retreated, the *Athenians* would fall off from him. When one of *Eretria* began to oppose him, he said, *Have you any thing to say of War, that are like an (2) Ink-fish? you have a Sword, but no Heart.* Some say, that while *Themistocles* was discoursing of these things upon the Deck, there was an Owl seen flying to the right Hand of the Fleet, which came and sat upon the top of the Mast. This happy Omen so far disposed the *Greeks* to follow his Advice, that they presently prepared to fight: Yet when the Enemy's Fleet was arrived at the Haven of *Phaleris* upon the Coasts of *Attica*, and with the Number of their Ships had shadowed all the Shore; and when they saw the King himself in Person come down with his Land Army to the Sea-side, with those Multitudes, and all his Forces united; then the good Counsel of *Themistocles* soon vanished, and the *Peloponnesians* cast their Eyes again towards the *Isthmus*, and took it very ill if any one spake against their returning home; and resolving to depart that Night, the Pilots had Orders what Course to steer.

Themistocles being highly concerned that the *Grecians* should retire, and lose the advantage of the narrow Seas and strait Passages, and slip home every one to his own City, considered with himself and contrived that Stratagem, that was carried on

(1) For the *Athenians* having a Fleet of 200 Sail were in a Condition of making considerable Conquests, and Settlements. Besides, this Reply included a Menace as if they would pass into *Italy*, and possess themselves of the City *Siris*, which had been promised them by the Oracle.

(2) *Τενθίς*, *Loligo*, a Sleeve, Skuttle, or Ink-fish. It casts out a yellow Ink, and is an exanguious, cartilaginous Fish, having no Blood, and thought to have no Heart. It is said to have a Sword, because it has a Cartilage in it which exactly resembles the Blade of a Rapier.

by *Sicinus*. (1) This *Sicinus* was a *Persian* Captive, but a great Lover of *Themistocles*, and Tutor to his Children: upon this Occasion *Themistocles* sent him privately to *Xerxes*, commanding him to tell the King that the Admiral of the *Athenians* having espoused his Interest, had sent early to inform him, that the *Greeks* were ready to make their Escape, and that he counselled him to hinder their Flight, to set upon them while they were in this Confusion, and at a Distance from their Land Army; and hereby he might destroy all their Forces by Sea. *Xerxes* was very joyful at this Message, and received it as from One who wished all things prosperous to him; and therefore immediately issued out Instructions to the Commanders of his Ships, that they should presently set out two hundred Sail, to encompass all the Islands, and enclose all the Straits and Passages, that none of the *Greeks* might escape; and to follow with the rest of their Fleet at better leisure. This being done, *Aristides* the Son of *Lysimachus* was the first Man that perceived it, and went to *Themistocles* into his Cabin; not out of any peculiar Friendship, (for he had been formerly banished by his means, as hath been related) but to inform him how they were encompassed by their Enemies. *Themistocles* knowing the generosity of *Aristides*, and be-

(1) I know not upon what Authority *Plutarch* saith this *Sicinus* was a *Persian*. Can it be imagined, that *Themistocles* would commit the Education of his Children to a *Barbarian*? *Plato* would certainly have reproach'd him for it, as he did *Pericles* for having caused *Alcibiades* to be brought up by a *Thracian* Slave. It is not improbable but that he was mis-led by a false reading of this Passage in *Herodotus*. Πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖον.

Misit ad Classē Medorum Virum. It may be instead of τὸ he read it τῶν Μήδων, and made τῶν Μήδων relate to ἄνδρα, and so consequently translated it, he sent to the Fleet a man of the Medes, when-as *Herodotus* means, he sent a Man to the Fleet of the Medes. This is the more likely, because *Æschylus*, who was in this Action, speaking of *Sicinus*, saith, A certain Greek from the Army of the Athenians told *Xerxes*, &c. v. 355.

ing much taken with his Visit at that time, imparted to him all that he had transacted by *Sicinus*, and intreated him, that having great Authority among the *Greeks*, he would now make use of it in joining with him to induce them to stay, and fight their Enemies in those narrow Seas. *Aristides* applauded *Themistocles*, and went to the other Commanders and Captains of the Gallies, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly assent to him, till a Galley of (1) *Tenos*, which revolted from the *Persians*, whereof *Panætius* was Commander, came into their Fleet, and confirmed the News, that all the Straits and Passages were beset; and then their Rage and Fury, as well as Necessity, provoked them all to fight.

As soon as it was Day, *Xerxes* placed himself on high to view his Fleet, and how it was set in order. (2) *Phanodemus* says, he sat upon a Promontory above the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Coast of *Attica* is separated from the Island by a narrow Channel; but (3) *Acestodorus* writes, that it was in the (4) Confines of *Megara*, upon those Hills which are called *the Horns*, where he sat in a (5) Chariot of Gold, with many Secretaries about

(1) It is in the Text, a Galley of *Tenedos*, but it ought to be, of *Tenos*, one of the *Cyclades*, as *Palmerius* has well observed. Most of the Islands had declar'd for the *Persians*. This *Panætius* the Son of *Socimenes* came over to the *Greeks* with the Ship under his Command; and the *Grecians* were so sensible of his Service, that on a *Tripes*, which they consecrated in the Temple of *Delphi*, the *Tenians* were inscrib'd among the Names of Those who had contributed to the obtaining that Victory over the *Barbarians*.

(2) An ancient Author, who had writ the History of *Attica*; per-

haps the same with Him quoted by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* under the Title of *Ἀρχαιολογίας*, of the *Antiquities* of *Attica*.

(3) An Historian, Author of an History of *Greece*. We are not to confound him with *Acestorides*, who wrote a Treatise of the *Fabulous Accounts* of *Cities*.

(4) On the Coast over-against *Salamine* are two Mountains, which separate *Attica* from the Territories of *Megara*; they are call'd *Cerata*, the *Horns*. *Strab. Lib. IX.*

(5) It was not of Gold, but Silver, and was consecrated in the Temple of *Minerva*, with the golden Sabre of *Mardonius*, who

was

about him to put down all that should pass in the Fight.

When *Themistocles* was about to sacrifice upon the Admiral Galley, there were three very beautiful Captives brought to him, well dressed and gloriously adorned with rich Vests of Gold, said to be the Children of *Autarctus* and *Sandaucé*, Sister to *Xerxes*. As soon as the Prophet *Euphrantides* saw them, and observed that at the same time the (1) Fire blazed out from the Offerings, and cast forth a more than ordinary bright Flame, and that one (2) sneezed to the right, which portended some fortunate Event, he took *Themistocles* by the Hand, and ordered that the three Children should be consecrated and purified for Sacrifice, and offered up as a Vow for Victory (3) to *Bacchus Omastes*,
or

was taken afterwards in the Battle at *Plataea*. *Demosthenes*, who had seen it a thousand times, calls it, *ἰσθρον ἀργυρόπτερον*. *Sellam pedibus argenteis*. A Chair with Silver Feet.

(1) This was always taken for a fortunate Persege, as was the Flame that shone round the Head of *Servius Tullus*, of which *Florus* saith, *quem clarum fore visa circum Caput Flamma promiserat*.

(2) Sneezing was always look'd on as a happy Omen, and is a Superstition of a very ancient Date, there being a remarkable Instance of it in the XVIIth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, without any Distinction either of the Right or Left; that Circumstance became essential by Degrees, as Superstition is continually gaining Ground, and Sneezings to the Right only were look'd upon as fortunate Prognosticks. This Superstition pass'd in a Lump from Greece to

Rome, which gave *Catullus* Occasion to say,

*Amor, sinister ante,
Dextram sternuit Approbationem.*

(3) I no where find that *Bacchus* was ever worship'd at *Athens* under that Name; much less that the *Athenians* offered to him Human Sacrifices. He was on the contrary too merciful and benign a Deity to receive them. The *Grecians* report of him, that as one Day some young People were sacrificing to him near the River *Asopus* in *Bæotia* they drank to such Excess, that in their Cups they kill'd the Priest; for which Offence the Country was immediately punish'd with a pestilential Disease. Hereupon they had recourse to the Oracle, and were order'd by way of Atonement to sacrifice a beautiful Youth to *Bacchus*; but *Bacchus* abhorring such a Victim,

or the Devourer ; for hereby the Greeks should not only save themselves, but also obtain Victory. *Themistocles* was startled at a Prophecy that carried so much Cruelty and Inhumanity in it ; but the Populace according to their manner in all pressing Difficulties, trusting more to any absurd and extravagant Methods of appeasing the Deity, than to such as are reasonable, with one Voice invoked *Bacchus*, and bringing the Captives to his Altar compelled him to perform the Sacrifice, as the Prophet had commanded. This is reported by *Phanias* the *Lesbian*, a great Philosopher and Historian. As to the Number of the Enemy's Ships, the Poet *Æschylus* writes in a Tragedy called *The Persians*, That to his own Knowledge *Xerxes* had a thousand Ships, of which two hundred and seven were extraordinary good Sailors. The *Athenians* had an hundred and eighty ; in every Ship eighteen Men fought upon the Deck, four of whom were Archers, and the rest well armed.

As *Themistocles* had possessed the most advantageous Place, so with no less Consideration he chose the best time of Fighting ; for he would not set the Stems of his Gallies against the *Persians*, nor begin the Fight, till the time of Day was

Victim, sent a Goat in the Place of the Youth ; in Memory of which they built him a Temple on the very Spot, which they consecrated to *Bacchus Aigobolos*, that is, *The Goat-Sender*. If I am not mistaken the greatest Cruelty that ever was allow'd in his Rites was what was practised in a Town of *Arcadia*, where in one of his Festivals they us'd to whip the Women, as they did the young Men round *Diana's* Altar at *Sparta*. This Ceremony perhaps may not be thought improper in the

Sacrifices to a God who was no Enemy to Love, but on the contrary was call'd the Harbinger, or Gentleman-Usher of *Venus*. But as the *Islanders* were always more cruel than the Inhabitants of the Continent, it cannot be denied but that they did offer human Sacrifices to *Bacchus* in the Islands. *Evelpis Carystius* saith, that at *Chios* and *Tenedos* they sacrificed to him under the Name of *Omadius* ; and *Docides* saith, they did the same thing at *Lesbos*.

come

come when there constantly rises a blustering Wind from without the Bay, which brings in with it a great Sea, and makes a rough Water in the Channel. This was no Inconvenience to the *Grecian* Ships, which were low built and strong; but so far hurtful to the *Persians*, which had high Sterns and lofty Decks, were heavy, and could not easily tack, nor feel the Rudder, that it over-set them, or laid their Sides bare to the *Grecians*, who fiercely assaulted them, strictly obeying the Orders of *Themistocles*, who well understood what was most for their advantage: and when *Ariemenes*, Admiral to *Xerxes*, a good Man, and by far the bravest and worthiest of the King's Brothers, made towards *Themistocles*, and having a great Ship, threw Darts and shot forth Arrows, as from the Walls of a Castle; *Amenias* the *Decelian*, and *Soficles* the *Pedian*, who sailed in the same Vessel, bore in and attacked him, and both Ships meeting Stem to Stem, and striking together, their sharp Stems armed with Brass pierced through one another's Ships, so that they were fastened together; when *Ariamenes* attempting to board them, *Amenias* and *Soficles* ran at him with their Pikes, and thrust him into the Sea: His Body as it floated amongst other Shipwrecks was known by (1) *Artemisia*, and carried to *Xerxes*. It is reported that in the middle of the Fight a great Flame shined bright in the Air above the City of *Eleusis*, and that (2) Sounds

(1) *Artemisia*, Daughter of *Lygdamis*, and Queen of *Halicanassus*. She arm'd five stout Ships in Aid to *Xerxes*. *Herodotus* highly commends her for her Courage, and Prudence, and assures us, that she gave *Xerxes* the best Advice of any of his Allies. We are not to confound this Princess with that *Artemisia*, who was the Wife of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, and

lived above fourscore Years after this Engagement.

(2) *Herodotus* mentions the same thing, but saith that the Vision appeared some Days before the Battle, whilst *Xerxes*'s Land Forces were ravaging the Territories of *Attica*, and was first discover'd by an *Athenian* Exile, much esteemed by *Xerxes*, call'd *Dicaeus* the Son of *Theocides*.

and

and Voices were heard through all the Plain of *Thriasia* as far as the Sea, founding like a number of Men that were going to celebrate the Mysteries of *Bacchus*; and that a Cloud of Dust seemed to rise from the Place from whence this Sound came, and passing forward fell upon the Gallies. Others affirmed that they saw Apparitions and Spirits in the Shape of armed Men, which reached out their Hands from the Island of *Ægina* towards the *Grecian* Gallies, and were conjectured to be the (1) *Æacides*, whose Assistance they had implored in their Prayers before the Fight. The first Man that took a Ship was *Lycomedes* the *Athenian*, Captain of a Galley, who cut down the Ensigns of Honour that were in the Prow of the Ship, and dedicated them to *Apollo*, distinguished from others of that Name by the Laurel on his Head. And as the *Persians* fought in a narrow Arm of the Sea, and could bring but part of their Fleet to fight, they fell foul of one another; and the *Greeks* hereby equalled them in Strength, fought with them till the Evening, forced them back, and obtained so clear and celebrated a Victory, as *Simonides* observes, that neither *Greek* nor any other Nation ever by Sea performed such glorious Service, whether we consider the Bravery of the common Seamen, or the Conduct of the Admiral.

After the Sea-fight, *Xerxes* being enraged at his ill Fortune, attempted, by casting great Heaps of Earth and Stones into the Sea, to stop up the Channel and to make a Dam, upon which he might

(1) For a Vessel had been sent to *Ægina*, in order to offer up Prayers to *Æacus*, and his Descendants. This *Æacus* was the Son of *Jupiter*, and had been King of *Ægina*. He was remarkable for his Justice and Piety, whilst he

liv'd; and it is pretended that his Prayers had often proved very advantageous to the *Grecians*. After his Death it was given out that *Jupiter* had made him one of the Judges in the infernal Regions.

(1) lead

(1) lead his Land Forces over into the Island of *Salamine*.

Themistocles being desirous to know the Opinion of *Aristides*, told him, that he intended to set Sail for the *Hellepont*, (2) to break the Bridge of Ships, whereby he might hinder the Retreat of *Xerxes*, and become Master of *Asia*, without stirring out of *Europe*: But *Aristides* being troubled at his Design, made (3) this reply: *We have hitherto had to do with an Enemy who hath regarded little else but his Pleasure and Luxury; but if we shut him up within Greece, and drive him to necessity, he that is Lord of such great Forces, will no longer sit quietly with an Umbrella of Gold over his Head, looking upon the Fight for his Pleasure, but in such a strait will attempt every thing; he will be resolute, and appear himself in Person upon all Occasions, he will soon correct his Errors, and supply what he has formerly omitted through Remisness; and will be better advised in all things. Therefore it is no ways our Interest to take away the Bridge that is already made, but rather to build another if it were possible, that he might make his Retreat with the more Expedition. To which Themistocles answered, If this be requisite, we must immediately use all Diligence, Art and Industry,*

(1) According to *Herodotus*, he attempted This on purpose to conceal his true design, which was to recover the *Hellepont*.

(2) *Xerxes* had laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Hellepont* for the Passage of his Army, at a Place which from thence was called *Zeugma*, that is, *the Junction*, because by means of this Bridge the two Shores were in a manner joined together. We ought not, as some Geographers have done, to confound this *Zeugma* of *Xerxes* with a Town of the same

Name on the *Euphrates*, where *Alexander* afterwards did the same thing with what had been done here by *Xerxes*.

(3) *Herodotus* saith it was not *Aristides* but *Eurybiades*, who made that Reply to *Themistocles*; and indeed I think his account the more probable. *Themistocles* had no Business to confer with *Aristides* on that Subject, but there was a Necessity for him to communicate it to *Eurybiades*, who was General.

to rid our selves of him as soon as may be : And to this purpose he found out among the Captives (1) one of the King of *Persia's* Eunuchs named *Arnaces* ; whom he sent to the King, to inform him, that the Greeks being now victorious by Sea, had decreed to sail to the *Hellispont*, and destroy the Bridge ; but that *Themistocles* being passionately concerned for the King, revealed This to him, that he might hasten towards the *Asiatick Seas*, and pass over into his own Dominions : And in the mean time He would cause Delays, and hinder the Confederates from pursuing him. *Xerxes* no sooner heard this, but being very much terrified, retreated out of *Greece* with all speed. (2) The prudent Conduct of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, and the advantageous Management of this Affair, was afterwards more fully understood at the Battle of *Plataea* ; where *Mardonius* with a very small Portion of the Forces of *Xerxes* put the Greeks in danger of losing all.

Herodotus writes, that of all the Cities of *Greece* *Ægina* perform'd the best Service in the War ; in

(1) This Account is more probable than That given by *Herodotus*, who tells us that He who had been employ'd before, was made use of again by *Themistocles* on this Occasion. Besides, *Herodotus* seems to fally this Action, by intimating that *Themistocles* did it with a View, that he might one Day want the Protection of *Xerxes*, with whom he was for securing a Retreat in case he should come to be ill used by the *Athenians*.

(2) The Sense of this Passage, tho' something obscure in the Original, as it is in the Translations, is very fine, and natural. *Plutarch* reasons in this Manner. If at the Battle of *Plataea*, where the Greeks had to contend with only

a small part of *Xerxes's* Army, they were notwithstanding in great Danger of losing the Day, how would they have been able to have coped with the united Forces of that Prince, if they had suffer'd them to have join'd ; that is, if they had not engaged them in the Straits of *Salamine*, and if after That They had not found a means of driving them out of *Europe*, all which was executed by the Dexterity and Prudence of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Thus the Danger, to which the Greeks were reduced by *Mardonius*, was an undeniable Proof of the Capacity and Address of those two great Men, and the eminent Service they did their Country at *Salamine*.

which

which also all Men yielded to *Themistocles*, tho' Some, out of Envy, did it unwillingly; and when the *Greeks* returned to the Entrance of *Peloponnesus*, where the Officers deliver'd their Suffrages inscrib'd on (1) Billets taken from the Altar, to determine who was most worthy, every one gave the first Vote for himself, and the second for *Themistocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* carry'd Him with them to *Sparta*; where giving the Rewards of Valour to *Eurybiades*, and of Wisdom and Conduct to *Themistocles*, they crown'd him with Olive, gave him Precedency, presented him with the richest Coach in the City, and sent (2) three hundred young Men to accompany him to the Confines of their Country: And at the next *Olympian Games*, when *Themistocles* entred the Place where those Exercises were performed, the Spectators took no further notice of Those who strove for Mastery, but spent the whole Day in looking upon him, shewing him to the Strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their Hands, and all other Expressions of Joy; which so delighted him, that he confessed to his Friends, that he then reaped the Fruit of all his Labours for the *Greeks*. He was in his own Nature a great Lover of Honour, as is evident from those Things which are recorded of him. When he was chosen Admiral

(1) Every Officer took a Billet, or Ticket, from the Altar of *Nephtune*, on which they wrote the Name of Him they thought most deserving, and of Him they judged to be next in Merit to him. This Custom, which obliged them to take from the Altar the Billets or Scrips of Paper, on which they were to write their Suffrages, serv'd excellently well to admonish them, that they were giving their

Vote, or Judgment, in the Presence of God, and that consequently they were not to be byassed by Favour or Affection, but to judge uprightly. It is conceiv'd that this Passage has not been rightly understood by some Interpreters.

(2) They were 300 Horse. *Herodotus* saith that *Themistocles* was the only Person of all Mankind, who had ever been so honoured by the *Lacedæmonians*.

by the *Athenians*, he ended no Business fully, publick nor private, but deferred all till the Day they were to sail, that dispatching much business together, and having to do with all sorts of Men, he might appear to be a Man of uncommon Abilities. Viewing the dead Bodies cast up by the Sea, he perceived Collars and Chains of Gold about them ; yet passed on, only shewing them to a Friend that followed him, saying, *Take you these things, for you are not Themistocles*. He said to *Antiphates*, a young Nobleman who had some time before behaved himself haughtily towards him, but now in his Glory obsequiously waited on him, *Young Man, we have both of us found our Mistake at the same time, tho' a little of the latest*. He said that the *Athenians* did not honour him, or admire him, but when they were in Danger they sheltered themselves under him, as they do in stormy foul Weather under a Plane-tree ; and when they have fair Weather again, they pull off its Leaves and Fruit, and cut down its fairest Branches. A *Seriphian* telling him that he had not obtained this Honour by himself, but by the Greatness and Splendor of his City, he replied, *You speak truth, for I should never have been esteemed if I had been of Seriphus ; nor would you have come to any thing though you had been of Athens*. A Commander of the Army who thought he had performed considerable Service for the *Athenians*, boasting, and comparing his Actions with those of *Themistocles*, he told him that the Day after the Festival reproached the Festival ; that upon her day those who were laborious and industrious refreshed themselves, but upon the Festival the Sluggard and Luxurious enjoyed all things : to which the Festival replied, *It is true, yet if I had not been before you, you had not been at all ; so if Themistocles had not been before you, where had you*

you been now? Laughing at his own Son, who was somewhat too bold through the Indulgence and Fondness of his Mother, he told him that he had the most Power of any one in Greece; for *the Athenians command the rest of Greece, I command the Athenians, your Mother commands me, and you command your Mother.* Loving to be singular in all things, when he had Land to sell, he ordered the Cryer to give notice that there were good Neighbours near it. Of Two who made Love to his Daughter he preferred the Virtuous before the Rich, saying, *he desired a Man without Riches, rather than Riches without a Man;* with many such Expressions.

After these things he began to build and wall the City of *Athens*, having with Money corrupted the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, and perswaded them not to be against it, as *Theopompus* reports; but as most relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them: for being chosen by the *Athenians* to go on an Embassy to *Sparta*, he went thither, where the *Lacedæmonians* accusing him for rebuilding the Walls of the City of *Athens*, and *Poliarchus* being sent on purpose from *Ægina* to plead against him, he denied the Fact, advising them to send to *Athens* to see whether it were so or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the Wall, and perswaded the *Athenians* to seize upon Those who were sent, and keep them as Hostages for him. When the *Lacedæmonians* knew the Truth, they did him no hurt, but hiding their Anger for the present, sent him away.

After this, considering the great Advantage of good Ports, he fortified the Haven of *Piræus*, and joined the whole City to the Sea, which was directly contrary to the Policy of the old Kings of *Athens*; who endeavouring to withdraw their Subjects from the Sea and the Care of maritime Affairs,

and to accustom them to live by Planting and Tilling the Earth, published the Discourse between *Minerva* and *Neptune*, and how they contended for the Patronage of the *Athenians*, when *Minerva* by shewing to the Judges an Olive-Tree, was declared to be their Tutelary Goddess: but *Themistocles* did not join the Haven of *Piræus* to the City, as the Poet *Aristophanes* observes, (1) but he joined the City to the Haven, and the Land to the Sea, which increased the Power of the People against the Nobility, the Authority coming into the Hands of Watermen, Mariners and Masters of Ships; and ordered, that the Pulpit built in the Place called (2) *Pnyx*, for publick Orations, should be placed towards the Sea, (3) which the thirty Tyrants afterwards turned towards the Land: supposing that great Power by Sea would give Life and Encouragement to a popular Government; but that Labourers and Husbandmen would be less offended at the Greatness of the Nobility. But *Themistocles* had still greater Designs for augmenting their Naval Strength; for after the Departure of *Xerxes*,

(1) That is, He did not make the whole City a Harbour, which is generally a Place of Licentiousness, but so provided that the City might, on occasion, be assisted by the *Piræus*, and the *Piræus* be succoured by the City; in which, however, he caused an exact Discipline to be observed.

(2) It was on an Eminence near the Citadel.

(3) As if changing the Prospects of a Publick Place where the People are accustom'd to assemble, would be a means of changing or altering their Sentiments and Dispositions. It is indeed most certain, that sometimes a meer trifle is able to awake in the Minds

of the People Ideas capable of producing very surprising Effects, as may be seen in the Life of *Camillus*. It appears from a Passage in *Aristophanes*, that the Change of View did not hinder This from being a very dangerous Place; for he saith that the People, tho' very mild and peaceable in their own Houses, grew very untractable when assembled upon the *Pnyx*, and that was the Reason, without doubt, which made them discontinue holding Assemblies in that Place. The thirty Tyrants were establish'd at *Athens* by *Lyfander*, the 1st Year of the 94th *Olympiad*, 402 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

when

when the *Grecian* Fleet was arriv'd at (1) *Pagasa*, where they wintered, *Themistocles*, in a publick Oration to the People of *Athens*, telling them, that he had a Design to perform something that would be very beneficial and advantageous to the *Athenians*, but that it was of such a nature, that it could not be made publick, or communicated to the People in general; the *Athenians* ordered him to impart it to *Aristides* only; and if He approv'd of it, to put it in Practice: And when *Themistocles* had discover'd to him that his Design was to burn the *Grecian* Fleet in the Haven of *Pagasa*; *Aristides* coming out to the People, gave this report of the Stratagem contrived by *Themistocles*, that there was nothing more advantageous, nor could any thing conduce more to the Prosperity and Grandeur of *Athens* than This, but withal that it would be the most unjust Action in the World: at which the *Athenians* commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention, and to think no farther of it.

When the *Lacedæmonians* propos'd at the General (2) Council of the *Amphictyonians*, that the Representatives of those Cities which were not in the League, nor had fought together against the *Persians*, should be excluded out of that Assembly; *Themistocles* fearing that the *Theſſalians*, with Those of *Thebes*, *Argos* and Others, being thrown out of the Council, the *Lacedæmonians* would become wholly Masters of the Votes, and act what they pleas'd; he apply'd himself to the Deputies of

(1) *Pagasa*, *Pegasa*, or *Pegasea*, a maritime Town of *Magnesia*, situate in the *Pelagick* Bay.

The Fleet wintered there, in order to shut up the Passage, lest *Xerxes* should make a second Attempt with fresh Forces. *Cicero* howe-

ver tells us in his *Offices*, that it winter'd in a Port in *Laconia*, called *Gythium*.

(2) This Council was in a Manner an Assembly of the States General of all *Greece*, where the Cities sent their Deputies.

the Cities, and prevailed with the Members then sitting to alter their Opinions in this Point, remonstrating to them that there were but one and thirty Cities which did partake of the War, and that most of These also were very small; and how intolerable it would be, if the rest of *Greece* should be excluded, and that this August Council should come to be ruled by two or three great Cities. By This he chiefly incurred the high displeasure and hatred of the *Lacedæmonians*, who afterwards used all their Interest for the advancement of *Cimon*, that he might be a Rival to *Themistocles* in all Affairs of State.

He was also burdensome to the Confederates, sailing about the Islands, and collecting Money from them. *Herodotus* says, that requiring Money of Those of the Island of *Andros*, he told them, that he had brought with him two Goddesses, *Persuasion* and *Force*; and they answered him, that they had also two great Goddesses which prohibited them from giving him any Money, *Poverty* and *Impossibility*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet reprehends him somewhat bitterly, for being wrought upon by Money, to let Those that were banished return, and for betraying Him who had been his Guest and Friend. The Verses are these:

*You may the Honour of Pausanias raise,
Leutychides, or else Xantippus praise:
Of Aristides I'll display the Fame,
The best Man e'er from mighty Athens came.
The false dark Deeds of base Themistocles
Can never the divine Latona please:
His Friend and Guest, Timocreon, for Gain,
A Prisoner here he basely doth detain.
To get three Talents Some he does recal,
Banishes, Murders Others, laughs at All;*

While

THE MISTOCLES.

41

*While with his Bags well fill'd he may carouse,
And in the Isthmus keep a publick House.
Yet there doth such cold Entertainment give,
His Guests oft wish him not an Hour to live.*

But after the Sentence and Banishment of *Themistocles*, *Timocreon* reviles him more excessively and more reproachfully, in a Poem which begins thus:

*Muses, convey the Echo of my Verse,
And what I write continually rehearse;
'Tis requisite that This you should disperse
All over Greece, and through the Universe.*

It is reported that when it was put to the question, whether *Timocreon* should be banished for siding with the *Persians*, *Themistocles* gave his Vote against him; and when *Themistocles* was accused for treating with the *Medes*, *Timocreon* made these Verses upon him.

*Timocreon now is not the only Man
Hath sworn Allegiance to the Persian.
Others are faulty, nay the Greatest fail;
He's not the only Fox without a Tail.*

And when the Citizens of *Athens* began to hearken willingly to Those who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great Services he had performed, and asked Those who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving Benefits often from the same Person; whereby he rendered himself more odious: but he more highly incensed the People, and accumulated their Hatred towards him, when laying the Foundation of the Temple of *Diana*, he named it *Aristoboule*, or *Diana of the best Counsel*; intimating thereby, that he had given the best Counsel

Counsel not only to the *Athenians*, but to all *Greece*. He built this Temple near to his own House, in a Place called *Melita*, where now the Hangmen carry out the Bodies of such as are executed, and throw the Halters and Clothes of Those that are strangled, or otherwise put to death. There is to this day a Statue of *Themistocles* in the Temple of *Diana*, called *Aristoboule*, or of the best Counsel, which represents him to be a Person not only of a noble Mind, but also of an Aspect that speaks the Heroe. At length the *Athenians* banished him, making use of the Exostracism to depress his great Worth, Eminence and Authority, as they ordinarily did to all Those whom they thought too powerful, or in a Capacity to oppress them; or by their Greatness were become disproportionable to that Equality which was thought requisite in a popular Government. For the Exostracism was instituted not so much to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacify the Fury of the Envious, who delighted to depress Those who were transcendent in Eminence and Glory: and by fixing this Disgrace upon them, they exhaled part of the venomous Rancour of their Minds.

Themistocles being banished from *Athens*, while he stayed at *Argos* the Tryal of *Pausanias* happened, which gave such Advantage to his Enemies, that *Leobotes* of *Agraula* Son of *Alcmaeon* indited him of Treason; the *Spartans* joining with him in the Accusation.

When *Pausanias* first engaged in this treasonable Design, he concealed it from *Themistocles*, tho' he was his intimate Friend: but when he saw him expelled out of the Commonwealth, and how impatiently he took his Banishment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and desired his assistance, shewing him the King of *Persia's* Letters, and exasperating him against the *Greeks*, as a cursed and
6
ungrateful

ungrateful People. However *Themistocles* immediately rejected the Proposals of *Pausanias* and wholly refus'd to be a Party in the Enterprize, tho' he never reveal'd those Discourses, nor discovered the Conspiracy to any Man; either expecting that it would be discovered by other Means, or hoping that *Pausanias* would desist from his Intentions, seeing that he attempted without due consideration things that were absurd, dangerous, and that could not be put in practice.

(1) After that *Pausanias* was put to Death, Letters and Writings being found concerning this Matter, which rendred *Themistocles* suspected, the *Lacedæmonians* were clamorous against him, and the envious *Athenians* accused him; when being absent from *Athens*, he made his Defence by Letters, especially against the chief Accusations; and wrote to the *Athenians* in answer to the malicious Detractions of his Enemies, urging the Improbability that One who was always known to be desirous of governing, and no ways formed by Nature or Inclination for Slavery, should deliver up Himself and his Country into the Hands of Barbarians, that were mortal Enemies to Both.

Notwithstanding this, the People being persuaded by his Accusers, sent Officers to take him, and bring him away to be tried before the great Council of the *Greeks*; but having timely Notice of it, he passed over into the Island of *Corcyra*, (2) the chief

(1) Hearing the *Ephori* were coming to seize him he fled into the Temple of *Pallas Chalcioicos*, where they besieged him. They wall'd up all the Gates of the Temple, his own Mother laying the first Stone. When they had, as it were, starv'd him to Death, and he lay in the utmost Agony, they seiz'd on him, and by that

time they had got him out of the Temple he expired.

(2) The Scholiast upon *Thucydides* mentions a Service still more considerable. For he saith that after the Defeat of *Xerxes*, the *Greeks* were dispos'd to lay Siege to *Corcyra*, and punish them for not joining in the League against *Xerxes*, but that *Themistocles* dissuaded them

chief City of the Island having received great Obligations from him; for being made Judge of a Difference between Them and the *Corinthians*, he determin'd the Controversy, ordering the *Corinthians* to lay down twenty Talents, and that the Town and Island of *Leucas* should be equally inhabited by a Colony sent from both Cities. From thence he fled into *Epirus*, and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* still pursuing him, he plung'd himself into such intricate Difficulties, that he had small Hopes ever to escape; for he fled for Refuge to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, who having formerly made a Request to the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* was in the Height of his Authority with them, had met with so rude and disdainful a Denial, that 'twas plain enough that King had hitherto only waited for an Opportunity of being reveng'd. Yet in this Misfortune, *Themistocles* fearing the fresh Hatred of his Neighbours and Fellow-Citizens, more than the Displeasure of the King, which Time might have abated, he chose the latter, and became an humble Suppliant to *Admetus* after a peculiar manner, different from the Custom of all other Countries. For holding the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, he prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; This being the most sacred manner of Supplication among the *Molossians*, and which rarely met with a Denial. Some say that Queen *Phthia* inform'd *Themistocles* of this way of petitioning, and plac'd her young Son near to him, before the Figures of their domestical Deities: Others say that King *Admetus*, that he might be under a religious Obligation not to deliver him up to Those who

them from it, alledging, that if they wou'd bring greater Damages they were in that manner to re- upon Greece than it had suffer'd
 vengeance themselves upon all the Cities from the Barbarians.
 that had not join'd in that League

persecuted him, helped him to act that Part, and instructed him in this solemn Rite. At that time *Epicrates* of *Acarmania* privately conveyed his Wife and Children out of *Athens*, and sent them hither, for which afterwards *Cimon* condemned him, and put him to Death, as *Stesimbrotus* reports: yet either forgetting This, or making *Themistocles* to be little mindful of it, he says he sailed into *Sicily*, and desired in Marriage the Daughter of *Hiero* the Tyrant, promising to bring the *Greeks* under his Power; and *Hiero* refusing him, he departed from thence into *Asia*. But This is not probable; for *Theophrastus* writes in his History of Kings, that when *Hiero* sent Race-Horses to the *Olympian Games*, and erected a Royal Tent richly furnished, *Themistocles* made an Oration to the *Greeks*, inciting them to pull down the Tyrant's Tent, and not to suffer his Horses to run. *Thucydides* says, that passing over Land to the *Ægean Sea*, he took Ship at *Pidna* in the Bay of *Therme*, not being known to any one in the Ship; till being terrified to see the Vessel driven by the Winds near to *Naxus*, which was then besieged by the *Athenians*, he made himself known to the Master and Pilot; and sometimes intreating them, at other times threatening them, that if they went on Shore, he would accuse them, and induce the *Athenians* to believe, that they did not take him in out of Ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with Money from the beginning, he compelled them to bear off, and stand out to Sea, and sail forward towards the Coasts of *Asia*.

A great Part of his Estate was privately conveyed away by his Friends, and sent after him by Sea into *Asia*; besides which, there was discovered and confiscated to the Value of fourscore Talents, as *Themistocles* writes: *Theopompus* says an hundred :
 whereas

whereas *Themistocles* was never worth three Talents before he was concerned in the Publick.

When he arrived at *Cuma*, and understood that all along the Coast there were Many laid wait for him, and particularly *Ergoteles* and *Pythodorus* (for the Game was worth the hunting after by such as pursued Gain every where, the King of *Persia* having offered by publick Proclamation two hundred Talents to Him that should take him) he fled to *Æges* a small City of the *Æolians*, where no one knew him but only his Host *Nicogenes*, who was the richest Man in *Æolia*, and well known in the Court of *Persia*. Whilst *Themistocles* lay hid for some Days in his House, one Night after a sacrificial Feast, *Olbius*, Schoolmaster to *Nicogenes's* Children, fell frantick and inspired, and cried out in Verse,

*This Night instructs in mystick Dreams and Charms,
How t'use thy Parts and ever-conquering Arms.*

After this, *Themistocles* dream'd that a Dragon coiled itself round his Belly, and creeping up to his Neck, as soon as it touched his Face, it was turned into an Eagle; which spread its Wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him into Countries far remote, where a golden Scepter appeared to him, upon which he rested himself securely, freed from all Fear and Trouble: (1) *Nicogenes*

(1) *Plutarch* having told us *Themistocles* his Dream, does not stop to tell us the Explication put upon it, nor his Resolution thereupon, which was to go, and throw himself into the Hands of the Great King. But taking it for granted, that the Dream carried its own Explication with it, he passeth in an Instant to the Action. *Nicogenes* therefore, saith he, made use of this Invention to convey him from his House in Safety. We are to understand by this single Word therefore, that upon the Encouragement of this Dream, *Nicogenes* undertook to carry him off. *Syne-sius* somewhere saith it is a shame for

cogenes therefore made use of this Invention to convey him from his House in Safety.

The barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially, are naturally jealous, clownish, and morose toward their Women, not only to their Wives, but also to their Slaves and Concubines, whom they keep so strictly that never any one sees them abroad: even at their Meals they are shut up within Doors; and when they take a Journey, they are carried in close Coaches, or put under a little Tent or Covering shut close on all sides, and set upon a Waggon. Such a travelling Carriage being prepared for *Themistocles*, they hid him in it, and carried him on his Journey; and told Those whom they met or discoursed with upon the Road, that they carried a young Grecian Lady out of *Ionia* to a Nobleman at Court.

Thucydides and (1) *Charon* of *Lampsacus* report, that *Xerxes* being dead, *Themistocles* came to Court (2) just at the time when *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*

for a Man pass'd so not to be able to interpret Dreams. To avoid that Imputation, I will attempt to interpret This of *Themistocles*. The Dragon that coil'd round *Themistocles*, was his Host *Nicogenes*, who protected Him in the same Manner that the Dragon of *Minerva* protected the Citadel of *Athens*. This Dragon had no sooner touch'd his Face, that is, had no sooner engag'd in Friendship with him, *Themistocles* had no sooner entrusted him with the Secret, by discovering himself to him, but the Dragon was turn'd into an Eagle, that is, without a Moment's Loss of Time *Nicogenes* conveyed him into *Persia*, where he laid him at the Footstool of the Throne of

the great King, which is signified by the Golden Scepter, upon which he rested himself securely, freed from all Fear and Trouble.

(1) *Charon* wrote the History of *Persia* in two Books, and was more antient than *Herodotus*.

(2) *Themistocles* therefore arriv'd at the *Persian* Court, in the first Year of the 79th Olympiad, 462 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, for That was the first Year of *Artaxerxes* his Reign. They who affirm he came thither whilst *Xerxes* was living, make it earlier by seven Years. But, as *Plutarch* saith, the first Opinion, which is That of *Thucydides*, is most conformable to the Exactness of Chronology, and it is That which

Plutarch

xes was upon the Throne : but *Ephorus*, *Deinon*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many Others write, that he found *Xerxes* alive. The Opinion of *Thucydides* agrees best with the chronological Tables, if Those may be safely relied upon.

Themistocles, sensible of the extreme Difficulties into which he had thrown himself, applied first to (1) *Artabanus*, Commander of a thousand Men, telling him, that he was a Grecian, and desired to speak with the King about some important Affairs, which the King had much at Heart. *Artabanus* answered him, *Stranger*, the Laws of Men are different, and Some esteem one thing honourable and Some Another ; but it is honourable for all Men to observe and commend the Laws of their own Country : it is allowable for you Grecians to admire Liberty and Equality, but amongst our many excellent Laws, we account This the most glorious, to honour the King, and to worship him, as the Image of that great Deity that preserves and protects the Universe : and if you can accustom yourself to our Laws, and fall down before the King and worship him, you may both see him and speak to him ; but if your Mind be otherwise, you must make use of others to intercede for you : for it is not the national Custom here, for the King to give Audience to any one that doth not fall down before him. *Themistocles* hearing this, replied, *Artabanus*, I that come hither to encrease the Power and Glory of the King, will not only submit myself to his Laws, since it hath pleased God to raise the Persian Empire to this greatness, but will also cause many more to be Worshippers and Adorers

Plutarch always follows, as may be observed in the Life of *Alciades*. And it appears even from the Speech of *Themistocles* to the King in his first Audience that it was address'd to *Artaxerxes*, and

not to his Father.

(1) The Son of *Artaban*, Captain of the Guards; the same that slew *Xerxes*, and perswaded *Artaxerxes* to cut off his elder Brother *Darius*.

of the King; let not This therefore be an Impediment, why I should not communicate to his Majesty what I have to impart. Artabanus asking him who must we tell him that you are? for you seem to be no ordinary Person; Themistocles answered, No Man must be informed of This before the King himself. Thus Phantias relates it; to which Eratosthenes in his Treatise of Riches, adds, That by the Means of a Woman of Eretria, who was kept by Artabanus, he was brought acquainted with him, and obtained this favour from him.

When he was introduced to the King, and had paid his due Reverence to him, he stood silent, till Xerxes commanding the Interpreter to ask him who he was, he replied, *I am Themistocles the Athenian, banish'd and persecuted by the Greeks; I fly to Thee for Refuge, mighty Monarch: the Evils I have done to the Persians are easily to be forgiven, in Consideration of the many Atchievements perform'd for them, when I hindred the Grecians from pursuing the Medes after the fatal Battels of Salamis and Plataea; when having freed my Country, and placed the Greeks in safety, my Ambition led me on to greater Enterprises; in which being successful, I gratified the far-extended Persian Empire, and perform'd Services acceptable to the greatest Prince on Earth: Since which all things having conspired to augment my present Calamities, suitable to such a Condition, I come hither, hoping to receive Mercy from a gracious reconciled Sovereign, who hath laid aside his Anger, and is no longer mindful of former Evils; humbly imploring you, that taking the Greeks for Witnesses of the Services I have done for Persia, you will make use of this occasion to shew the World the Nobleness of your Virtue, rather than the Greatness of your Resentment. Hereby you will preserve an humble Suppliant; if otherwise, you destroy a Ser-*

vant of the Persians, and a publick Enemy of the Greeks. Besides This, he related the Manner of the Vision, which he saw at *Nicogenes's* House, and what was directed him by the Oracle of *Dodona*, where *Jupiter* commanded him to go to Him that had a Name like his; by which he understood, that he was sent from *Jupiter* to *Xerxes*, seeing that they had both the Name of Mighty Kings: and he knew no other great sacred Powers but *Jupiter*, and the *Persian* Emperor.

The King heard him attentively, and tho' he admired his Understanding and Courage, gave him no answer at that time; but when he was with his intimate Friends, he rejoiced in his great good Fortune, and esteemed himself very happy in this, and prayed to his God (1) *Arimanius*, that all his Enemies might be ever of the same Mind with the *Greeks*, to provoke, abuse, and expel the bravest Men amongst them. Then he sacrificed to the Gods, and presently fell to drinking; and was so well pleased, that in the Night, in the middle of his Sleep, he cried out for Joy three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian!*

In the morning, *Xerxes* calling together the chief of his Court, had *Themistocles* brought before him, who expected no good would come of it, especially when he saw the Guards were fiercely set against him as soon as they knew his Name, and gave him ill Language: and as he came forward towards the King, who was set down, and the rest kept silence, passing by *Roxanes* a Commander of a thousand Men, he heard him sigh and whisper softly to him without stirring out of his place, *Thou subtle Greek Serpent, the King's good Genius hath brought thee hither.* Yet when he came into the Presence, and fell down, the King saluted him, and spake

(1) *Strabo* somewhere speaks of | which was call'd *Amannus*, and the two of the *Persian* Gods, One of | Other *Anandratius*.

spoke to him kindly, telling him, he was now indebted to him two hundred Talents; for it was just and reasonable that He should receive the Reward which was proposed to Whosoever should bring *Themistocles*: and promising much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to speak freely what he had to say concerning the Affairs of *Greece*. *Themistocles* replied, that (1) a Man's Discourse was like to a rich *Persian* Carpet variously wrought and figured, the beautiful Images and proper Figures of which are best represented when they are clearly and fairly opened; but when they are contracted and folded up, they are obscured and lost: and therefore he desired time to learn the Language perfectly, in which he was to express his Mind, and unfold his secret Services. The King being pleased with the Comparison, and bidding him take what time he would, he desired a Year; (2) in which time having learnt the *Persian* Language sufficiently, he spoke with the King by Himself without the help of an Interpreter: And Those who were at a distance, thought that he discoursed only about the Affairs of *Greece*. But there happening at the same time great Alterations at Court, and removals of the King's Favourites, he drew upon himself the Envy of the Great ones; who imagined, that he who had this great liberty might take the boldness to speak many things concerning Them: For the Favours shewn to other Strangers were nothing in comparison of the Honours conferred on Him; the King inviting him

(1) *Themistocles* soon knew how to accommodate himself to the Manners of the Orientals, whose way of speaking was always symbolical and figurative. He meant that for want of being vers'd in the Language of the Country, it was not in his Power so to explain

his Sentiments as to have them understood, and that for that Reason they wou'd be like a Piece of Tapisstry contracted, and folded up.

(2) *Thucydides* likewise tells us that in a Year's time he made himself Master of the Language, and Customs of the Country.

to partake of his own Pastimes and Recreations both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a Hunting, and making him his Intimate so far, as to permit him not only to come into the Presence of the Queen Mother, but also to wait upon her often, and converse familiarly with her: And besides this, he heard the Discourses of the Magicians, by the King's especial Command; and was instructed in the secret Philosophy and Magick of the *Persians*.

When *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, being ordered by the King to ask whatsoever he pleased, and it should immediately be granted him, (1) desired the Royal Diadem, and that being lifted up on high he might make his publick Entrance, and be carried in state through the City of *Sardis* with the Imperial Crown of *Persia* upon his Head, after the manner of Kings; *Mithropastes*, Nephew to *Xerxes*, taking him by the hand, told him that he had no Brains for the Royal Diadem to cover; and if *Jupiter* should give him his Lightning and Thunder, he would be ne'er the more *Jupiter* for That. The King also repulsed him with scorn and anger, resolving never to be reconciled to him, but to be inexorable to all Supplications on his behalf; yet *Themistocles* pacified him, and prevail'd with him to forgive him. And it is reported that the succeeding Kings, in whose Reigns there was a greater communication between the *Greeks* and *Persians* than formerly, when they invited any considerable *Grecian* into their Service, to encourage him, they

(1) This was the highest Mark of Distinction the *Persian* Kings cou'd confer on Those they had a Mind to honour. The History of *Mordecai* was at that time fresh in Mens Memory. *Ahasuerus*, the same with *Xerxes*, the Father of *Artaxerxes*, had not long before ordain'd that *Mordecai* should be arrayed in the Royal Apparel, that the Imperial Crown should be set upon his Head, and that he should be conducted on Horseback thro' the Streets of the City.

would signify to him by Letters, that he should be as great with them as *Themistocles* was with *Xerxes*. They relate also how *Themistocles* when he was in great Prosperity, and courted by Many, seeing himself splendidly served at his Table, he turned to his Children and said, *Children, we had been undone, if we had not been undone*. Most Writers say, that he had three Cities given him, (1) *Magnesia*, *Myus*, and *Lampsacus*, to maintain him in Bread, Meat and Wine. *Neantbes* of *Cyzicus* and *Phanias* add two more, the City of *Percotes* to provide him with Clothes, and *Palæscopsis* with Bedding and Furniture for his House.

As he went down towards the Sea-side to provide against the attempts and practices of the Greeks, a Persian, whose name was *Epixyes*, Governor of the upper *Phrygia*, laid wait to kill him; having for that purpose provided a long time before a crew of *Pisidian* Murderers, who were to set upon him when he came to reside in a City that is called *Lyon's-head*. But *Themistocles* sleeping in the middle of the Day, the Mother of the Gods appeared to him in a Dream, and said unto him, *Themistocles, never come at the Lyon's-Head,*

(1) It was customary with the Eastern Monarchs, instead of Pensions, to assign such and such Cities and Provinces for the Maintenance of their Favourites. A certain Queen had all *Egypt* for her Cloathing. Even the Taxes rais'd by the Kings on the Cities and Provinces were under particular Assignments. One Province furnish'd so much for Wine, Another for Victuals; One for the Privy Purse, and a Fourth for the Wardrobe. In *Plato's* first *Alcibiades*, we read that many of the Provinces were appropriated for a supply to the Queen's Wardrobe. One was

for her Waste, another for her Head, and so of the rest; and each Province bore the Name of that Part of the Dress it was to furnish. *Artaxerxes* assigned to *Themistocles* *Magnesia* for his Bread, for lying on the Banks of the *Meander*, it was a Soil the most fruitful in Corn of any in all *Asia*. *Thucydides* saith *Themistocles* receiv'd from it a Revenue of 50 Talents. *Lampsacus*, which was famous for its Vineyards, was to supply him with Wine; and *Myon* with Provisions, in which it abounded, particularly in Fish, as it lay near to the Sea.

for fear you fall into the Lyon's Jaws; for this advice I expect, that your Daughter *Mnesiptolema* should be my Servant. *Themistocles* was much astonished, and when he had poured forth his Prayers, and made his Vows to the Goddess, he left the great Road, and taking a Compass about, went another way, changing his intended station to avoid that Place, and at Night took up his rest beyond it; but one of the Sumpter-horses which carried part of the Furniture for his Tent, having fallen that day into a River, his Servants spread out the Tapestry which was wet, and hanged it up to dry. In the mean time the *Pisidians* made towards them with their Swords drawn, and not discerning exactly by the Moon what it was that was stretched out to be dried, they thought it was the Tent of *Themistocles*, and that they should find him resting himself within it; but when they came nigh, and lifted up the Hangings, Those who watched there fell upon them and took them. *Themistocles* having escaped this great danger, was in admiration of the goodness of the Goddess that appeared to him; and in memory of it he built a Temple in the City of *Magnesia*, which he dedicated to *Cybele* (1) *Dyndimene* Mother of the Gods, wherein he consecrated and devoted his Daughter *Mnesiptolema* unto her service.

When he came to *Sardis*, he visited the Temples of the Gods; and observing at his leisure their Buildings, Ornaments, and the number of their Offerings, he saw in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods the Statue of a Virgin in Brass two Cubits high, called *the Water-bringer*, or She that brought the Water back again into its right Channel. *Themistocles* had caused this Statue to be made and set up when he was Surveyor of the *Aqueducts*

(1) She was call'd *Dyndimene* from *Dyndimus*, a Mountain near *Pesinuntum* in *Galaria*.

at *Athens*, out of the Fines and Forfeitures of Those, whom he had discovered to have taken away the Water, or to have turned it out of its due course, by other Pipes fitted for their private use: And whether he had some regret to see this fair Image in Captivity, and the Statue of a *Grecian* Virgin kept Prisoner in *Asia*; or whether he was desirous to let the *Athenians* see in what great Credit he was with the King, and what Authority he had in all the *Persian* affairs, he entred into discourse with the Governor of *Lydia*, to persuade him to send this Statue back to *Athens*; which so enraged the *Persian* Officer, that he told him, he would write the King word of it. *Themistocles* being affrighted hereat, got access to his Wives and Concubines, whom he gained with Money, and by their means mitigated the fury of the Governor; and afterwards carried himself more reservedly and circumspectly, fearing the envy of the *Persians*, and gave over travelling about *Asia*, and lived quietly in his own House in *Magnesia*, where for a long time he passed his Days in great security, as *Theopompus* writes; being courted by All, and presented with rich Gifts, and honoured equally with the greatest Persons in the *Persian* Empire: the King at that time not minding his concerns with *Greece*, being incessantly busied about the affairs of the upper Provinces.

But upon Advice that *Egypt* assisted by the *Athenians* had revolted, and that the *Grecian* Gallies roved about as far as *Cyprus* and *Cilicia*, and that *Cimon* had made himself Master of the Seas, the King bending his mind chiefly to resist the *Grecians*, and put a stop to the Growth of their Power, rais'd Forces, sent out Commanders, and dispatched Messengers to *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, to put him in mind of his Promise, and to incense and irritate him against the *Greeks*. Yet This did not increase

his hatred, nor exasperate him against the *Athenians*; neither was he any ways elevated with the thoughts of the Honour and powerful Command he was to have in this War: but either imagining this Undertaking could not prosperously be carried on, nor the King easily compass his Designs, the *Greeks* having at that time great Commanders, and amongst them *Cimon* wonderfully successful in the affairs of *Greece*; or chiefly being ashamed to sully the Glory of his former great Actions, and of his many Victories and Trophies, (1) he generously determined to put a Conclusion to his Days suitable to his former great Deeds, and to make an End agreeable to the whole Course of his Life. He sacrificed to the Gods, and invited his Friends; and having kindly entertained them, and shaken hands with them, (2) he drank Bulls Blood, as the general Report goes: but Some say he took Poison, which dispatched him in a short time, and ended his Days in the City of *Magnesia*, having lived sixty five Years, most of which he had spent in the State and in the Wars, in governing of Countries and commanding of Armies. The King being informed of the cause and manner of his Death, admired him more than ever,

(1) *Thucydides*, who was Contemporary with *Themistocles*, is not clear in this Point. He saith no more than This. *Themistocles* dyed of a Distemper. There are Some who say he poison'd himself, despairing to perform what he had promis'd to the King. Notwithstanding the Uncertainty of this Report, *Plutarch* chose to follow it, that he might give a tragical Turn to his History. It is very likely that he died a natural Death, and that the Conjunction of Affairs favour'd the Conceit of his having poisoned himself, to get out of the Difficulty under which he lay.

What surpriseth Me, is, That *Plutarch* should commend such a Resolution, which is so far from being laudable, that on the contrary, it is very unworthy and shameful, as the Wisest among the *Pagans* themselves have acknowledged.

(2) Whilst they were sacrificing the Bull, he caus'd the Blood to be received in a Cup, and drunk it whilst it was hot, which is mortal because it coagulates, or thickens in an Instant. *Plin. lib. xi. chap. 38. Taurorum sanguis celerrimè coit, atque durescit. Ideo pestifer potu maximè.*

and

and continued to shew kindness to his Friends and Relations.

Themistocles left three Sons by *Archippa*, Daughter to *Lysander* of *Alopece*; *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*. *Plato* the Philosopher mentions the latter as a most excellent Horse-man; but relates nothing else of him worthy of memory: Of his eldest Sons *Neocles* and *Diocles*, *Neocles* died when he was young by the bite of a Horse, and *Diocles* was adopted by his Grandfather *Lysander* to be his Heir. He had many Daughters, of which *Mnesiptolema*, whom he had by a second Marriage, was Wife to *Archeptolis*, her Brother-in-law by another Mother; *Italia* was married to *Pantbides* of the Island of *Scio*; *Sybaris* to *Nicomedes* the *Athenian*. After the Death of *Themistocles*, his Nephew *Phraſicles* set sail for *Magnesia*, and married his Daughter *Nicomachia*, receiving her from the hands of her Brothers; and brought up her Sister *Asia*, the youngest of all the Children.

The *Magnesians* possess the splendid Sepulchre of *Themistocles*, placed in the middle of their great Piazza: and it is not worth the taking notice of what *Andocides* writes to his Friends, concerning the Reliques of *Themistocles*; how the *Athenians* robbed his Tomb, and threw his Ashes into the Air; for he feigns This to exasperate the Nobility against the People; and there is no Man living, but knows that *Phylarchus* is mistaken in his History, where he brings in I know not what *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for the Sons of *Themistocles*, to incite or move compassion, as if he were writing a Tragedy. Yet *Diodorus* the Cosmographer writes in his Book of Sepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledge, that near to the Haven of *Piræa*, (where the Land runs out like an Elbow from the Promontory of *Alcimus*, and when you have doubled the Cape, and passed inward where the Sea is always

ways calm) there is a vast Foundation, and upon this (1) the Tomb of *Themistocles* in the shape of an Altar; and *Plato* the Comedian seems to confirm This in these Verses.

*Thy Tomb is fairly placed on the Strand,
Where Merchants from all Parts may pass or land;
Where Ships from every quarter come in sight,
And may engage in many a bloody Fight:
So that thy Ashes placed on the Shore,
Both Sea and Land may honour and adore.*

Divers Honours also and Privileges were granted to the Kindred of *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, which were observed down to our times. (2) There was One of his Name an *Athenian* that enjoyed them in my time, with whom I had a particular Acquaintance and Friendship in the House of *Ammonius* the Philosopher.

(1) *Thucydides* saith, that the Bones of *Themistocles* were remov'd from *Magnesia* by his own Appointment, and buried privately in *Attica*, unknown to the *Athenians*. For they did not suffer a Man that died under the Accusation of having betray'd his Country to have a publick Entombment. And without doubt this Aversion remain'd upon them a considerable time. But *Pausanias* extremely favours the Opinion of *Diodorus* the Geographer, who saith that the *Athenians* grew sorry for their hard Usage of *Themistocles*; that they suffer'd his Bones to be remov'd from *Magnesia* by his Relations; that his Children consecrated in the *Parthenonium* a Piece of Painting repre-

senting this History, in which *Themistocles* was drawn to the Life, and that his Monument was to be seen even in his Days near the Haven of *Piræus*.

(2) It is very remarkable to find *Themistocles* his Descendants enjoying even in *Plutarch's* time Privileges that had been granted by *Artaxerxes* to their renown'd Ancestor almost six hundred Years before. This has something great and glorious in it, when Princes continue thus, and, as it were, to perpetuate to Families the Honours, and Immunities, that had been granted to them by their Predecessors, especially when granted in acknowledgment of signal and important Services.



Vot: 2: p: 59:

Lud. Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.



THE
L I F E
O F
F. CAMILLUS.

AMONG the many remarkable things that are related of *Furius Camillus*, This above all seems most singular and strange, that He who for the most part was in the highest Commands, and had performed the greatest Actions, was five times chosen Dictator, triumph'd four times, and was stiled a *Second Founder* of *Rome*, yet never was so much as once Consul. The reason whereof was the State and Temper of the then Commonwealth; for the People being at dissension with the Senate, stily refused to return Consuls, but in their stead elected other Magistrates called *Military Tribunes*, who tho' they acted every thing with full Consular Power and Authority, yet their Government was less grievous to the People, by reason they were more in Number: For to have the management of Affairs entrusted in the Hands of six Persons rather

3 than

than two, was some ease and satisfaction to Those who could not endure the Dominion of a *few*. This was the Condition of the Times when *Camillus* flourish'd in the height of his Actions and Glory; and altho' the Government in the mean time had often had Assemblies, wherein they might have (1) proceeded to Consular Elections, yet he could never persuade himself to be Consul, against the Good-will and Inclination of the People. In all other his Administrations, which were many and various, he so behaved himself, that when he was alone in Authority, his Power was exercised as in common, but the Honour of all Actions redounded entirely to himself, even when in joint Commission with Others; the reason of the former was his Moderation, commanding without Pride or Insolence; of the latter, his great Judgment and Wisdom, wherein without question he excelled all Others. And whereas (2) the House of the *Furii* was not at that time of any considerable Quality, He was the first that raised himself to Honour, serving under (3) *Posthumius Tubertus*, Dictator, in the great Battel against the *Æques* and *Volsci*. For riding out from the rest of the Army, and in the

(1) From the time they began to chuse *Military Tribunes* instead of Consuls, I do not believe they appointed Consuls above twice or thrice whilst *Camillus* lived; tho' the Assemblies wherein they chose their Tribunes were *Courts Consular*, that is, Assemblies qualified to chuse, if they pleased, Consuls instead of Tribunes, for they were the *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the principal Magistrates were always appointed.

(2) *Furius* was the Family Name. *Camillus* was a Sirname usually given to Children of Qua-

lity, who had ministred for some time in the Temple, as has been observed before. *Camillus* was the first who retained that Name.

(3) In the Year of Rome CCCXXIV, the last Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad. *Camillus* must at least be then fourteen or fifteen Years of Age. It is a remarkable Epoche, and agrees exactly with *Plutarch's* Computation; who makes *Camillus* near fourscore Years old when he was for the fifth time named Dictator.

charge

charge receiving a Wound in his Thigh, He for all that gave not over the Fight, but plucking out the Dart that stuck close in the Wound, and engaging with the bravest of the Enemy, he put them to Flight: for which Action, among other Rewards bestowed on him, (1) he was created Cenfor, an Office in (2) those Days of great Esteem and Authority. During his Censorship one very good Act of His is recorded, that whereas the Wars had made many Widows, (3) he obliged such as had no Wives, Some by fair perswasion, Others by threatening to set Fines on their Heads, to take them in Marriage. Another necessary one, was causing Orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from Taxes; the frequent and chargeable Wars requiring more than ordinary expences to maintain them. But That which pinched them most was the Siege of *Veii*, (Some call the Inhabitants *Veientani*.) This was the head City of *Tuscany*, not inferior to *Rome*, either for the Quantity of Arms or Number of Soldiers it could furnish; presuming too on her Wealth and Magnificence, priding herself in the variety of Pleasures she enjoyed, she had

(1) That is, that Action serv'd in time to get him advanced to that Office; for it is not to be imagined that the *Romans* would intrust an Office of that Importance, to a Youth of his Age. And it accordingly appears, that *Camillus* was Cenfor with *M. Posthumius* the first Year of the 95th *Olympiad*, in the Year of *Rome* 353, twenty nine Years after this Action against the *Æques* and *Volsci*.

(2) *Plutarch* saith it was in those Days of great Esteem and Authority; because it declined much under the Administration of the first Emperors, who in the

End sunk it quite, by making themselves Masters of it. This Post was so considerable that it had greater Privileges annexed to it than the Consulate. They were, as it were, the Guardians of the *Roman* Manners and Discipline, and a sort of Visitors of the Order of the Knights, and of the Senate, and in short had the Fortune of the whole City at their Disposal. *Liv. lib. lV. cap. 8. Cicer. lib. III. de Legibus.*

(3) For the Censors had a Power to constrain Those to marry that were Batchelors. *Cœlibes esse prohibento. Cicer.*

fought many a fair Battel with the *Romans*, contending for Glory and Empire. But now she had quitted her former Ambition, having been weakened and brought low in many notable Encounters; so that her Inhabitants having fortified themselves with high and strong Walls, and furnished the City with all sorts of Weapons offensive and defensive, as likewise with Corn and all manner of Provisions, they chearfully endured the Siege, which, tho' tedious to them, was no less troublesome and vexatious to the Besiegers. For the *Romans* having never been accustomed to keep the Field but in Summer time, and constantly to winter at home, they were then first compelled by the Tribunes to build Forts and Garrisons in the Enemy's Country; and raising strong Works about their Camp, to join Winter and Summer together. And now the seventh Year of the War drawing to an End, the Commanders began to be suspected as too slow and remiss in carrying on the Siege, insomuch that they were discharged, and others chosen for the War, among Whom was *Camillus*, then second time Tribune. But at present he had no hand in the Siege, his lot being to make War upon the *Falisces* and *Capenates*; who taking Advantage of the *Romans* being busied on all hands, had much spoiled their Country, and through all the *Tuscan* War given them sore Diversions, but were now reduced by *Camillus*, and with great losses shut up within their Walls.

And now in the very heat of the War an accident happened to the *Alban* Lake, no less wonderful than the most incredible things that are reported; and by reason no visible Cause could be assigned, or any natural Beginning whereto to ascribe it, it became Matter of great amazement. It was the beginning of *Autumn*, and the Summer before had neither been very rainy, nor in appearance overtroubled

troubled with Southern Winds; and of the many Lakes, Brooks, and Springs of all sorts wherein *Italy* abounds, some were wholly dried up, others drew very little Water with them. But all the Rivers, as they constantly used in Summer, ran in a very low and hollow Channel; but the *Alban* Lake, that is fed by no other Waters but its own, being entirely compassed about with lofty or large Mountains, without any Cause, unless it were Divine, began visibly to rise and swell, increasing to the Feet of the Mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent tossing, or agitation of its Waves. At first it was the Wonder of Shepherds and Herdsmen only; but when the Earth, which like a great Dam held up the Lake from falling into the lower Grounds, by the quantity and weight of Water was broken down, and the Water in a violent stream ran through the plow'd Fields and Plantations, to discharge it self into the Sea, it did not only strike Terror into the *Romans*, but was thought by all the Inhabitants of *Italy* to portend some extraordinary Events. But the greatest talk of it was in the Camp before *Veii*, when once this accident of the Lake came to be known among them; and as in long Sieges it is usual for Parties of both sides to meet and converse with one another, it happen'd that a *Roman* had gained much confidence and familiarity with One of the besieged, a Man well versed in ancient Learning, and who had the Reputation (1) of more than ordinary skill in Divination. The *Roman* observing him to be overjoyed at the Story of the Lake, (2) and to mock at the Siege,

(1) He was a profest South-fayer. *Tuscany* abounded with such sort of People, which was owing to the extream Superstition of the Country. *Cicero* in his first Book

de Divinatione saith, that this Man was a Person of Quality, *hominem nobilem*.

(2) *Plutarch* handles these particulars too slightly, tho' they are in

Siege, told him This was not the only Prodigy that of late had happened to the *Romans*, but that (1) others more wonderful than this had befallen them, which he was willing to communicate to Him, that he might the better provide for his private Affairs in these publick Distempers. The Man greedily embrac'd the motion, expecting to hear some wonderful Secrets: But when by little and little he had drill'd him on in Discourse, and insensibly drawn him a good way from the Gates of the City, he snatch'd him up by the middle, being stronger than He, and by the assistance of Others that came running from the Camp, seized (2) and delivered him to the Commanders. The Man reduced to this necessity, and knowing that Destiny is not to be avoided, discovered to them what the Oracles had declared concerning the Fate of his Country; that it was not possible the City should be taken, until the *Alban Lake*, which now broke forth and had found new Passages, was drawn back from that Course, and so diverted, that it could not mingle with the Sea. The Senate having heard and deliberated of the Matter, decreed to send to *Delphos* to ask Counsel of *that* God: The Messengers were Persons of the greatest Quality, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*; who having made their Voyage by Sea, and consulted the God, returned with some other Answers, particularly, *that there had been a neglect of some of their*

in their Nature very essential, and remarkable. The *Veientan* laugh'd at the length of the Siege, by telling the *Romans*, they would never gain their Ends 'till they had emptied all the Water out of the *Alban Lake*. We have a more natural Account of this Piece of History in the Fifth Book of *Livy*.

(1) *Livy* saith, that he engaged him in this Conversation by desiring him to shew him how to expiate a Prodigy that had befallen Himself in Particular.

(2) He carried him to the General, and the General sent him to *Rome*, there to be interrogated before the Senate.

Country

Country Rites (1) relating to the *Latin Feasts*. As for the *Alban Water*, the Oracle commanded, that, if it was possible, they should draw it from the Sea, and shut it up in its ancient Bounds; but if That was not to be done, they should bring it down into Ditches and Trenches in the lower ground, and so dry it up. Which Message being delivered, the Priests performed what related to the Sacrifices, and the People went to work, and turned the Water.

And now the Senate in the tenth Year of the War, taking away all other Commands, (2) created *Camillus Dictator*, who chose *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horse; and in the first place he made Vows unto the Gods, that if they would grant a happy conclusion of that War, he would celebrate to their Honour the (3) *great Sports*,
and

(1) These Feasts, established by *Tarquin the Proud*, were celebrated by all the People of *Latium*, who assembled for that purpose on the *Alban Mount*, every one carrying his Proportion to the general Contribution. The *Romans* presided at the Sacrifice, wherein a Bull was offered to *Jupiter Latialis*, and all the People eat of it. If every one had not his Share in the Bull, or if the least Circumstance in the Ritual came to be omitted, the whole was void, and they were to begin the Sacrifice anew. These Feasts were so important, that it was not lawful for the Consuls to set out upon any Expedition before they had celebrated them. At first they held only one Day, then Two, a little after Three, and at last they came to be continued for four Days together.

(2) This Alteration of the Magistrate brought an Alteration also

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upon the whole Face of their Affairs, so that Hope and Confidence took place in an Instant of Fear and Consternation. See what one Man sometimes can do. *Omnia repente mutaverat Imperator mutatus*, saith *Livy*, *alia Spes, alius animus Hominum, Fortuna quoque, alia urbs videri*. This happened in the third Year of the 96th Olympiad, in the Year of Rome 359. *Camillus* might then be about 50 Years of Age.

(3) That is the *Roman Games*, which, properly speaking, were a Sort of Tournament performed in the Circus, for which reason they were likewise called *Magni Circenses, Magni Cercensibus actis*. *Virg.* They were established originally by *Tarquinus Priscus*, in Honour of *Jupiter, Juno*, and *Minerva*. They were celebrated on the 4th of September, and held for nine Days together. The Reader will find

E

a De-

and rebuild the Temple of the Goddess whom the Romans call (1) *Matuta the Mother*; the same with *Leucothoe*, if a Judgment may be made of it from the Ceremonies used in her Sacrifices; for leading (2) a Servant-maid into the secret Part of the Temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again: (3) They carry in their Arms their Brother's

a Description of them at large in the Notes upon the Life of *Coriolanus*.

(1) This Temple was originally built by *Servius Tullius*. *Matuta* was the same with *Leucothoe*, or *Ino*, the Sister of *Semele*, *Bacchus* his Mother.

(2) *Ino* became so implacably Jealous of one of her female Slaves, with whom she perceiv'd her Husband *Athamas* was in love to Distraction, that she hated all the rest for her sake. For which Reason the Romans, when they had defied her, thought they could not worship her more acceptably than by espousing her Resentments; therefore in their Sacrifices to her they forbid all Slaves Admission into her Temple, only they suffered One to enter, who represented *Athamas's* Mistress, and when they had soundly buffeted her they turn'd her out again.

(3) This is the genuine Sense of the Passage, which has been misunderstood by the Interpreters, and has been generally translated, *they embrace their Brother's Children more than their own*. *ἐναγκαλιῆσαι* signifies to embrace, but it likewise signifies to bear, or carry in one's Arms; and that is the signification of it in this Place. *Ino* had been a very unhappy Mother, for she had seen her Son *Learchus* slain by her Husband *Athamas*, and had

thrown herself headlong into the Sea with her other Son *Melicertes*. But she had been a more fortunate Aunt, for she had preserv'd *Bacchus*, the Son of her Sister *Semele*; for which Reason the Roman Matrons offered to her their Brother's, or their Sister's Children, and not their own. This we find explained by *Ovid* in his 6th Book *de Fastis*.

*Non tamen hanc pro Stirpe sua pia
Mater adoret:*

*Ipsa parum felix visa fuisse Pa-
rens.*

*Alterius prolem potius mandabitis
illi;*

*Utilior Baccho, quam fuit illa
suis.*

*Let not the pious Matron bend the
Knee,*

*Or suppliant bow for her own Pro-
geny.*

*A hapless Mother did the Goddess
prove,*

*Nor will a Mother's Tears the God-
dess move.*

*Thy Brother's Offspring rather be
thy Care,*

*Or for thy Sister's Child address thy
Prayer.*

*For she who in her Own was most
accurs'd,*

*Her Nephew Bacchus fortunately
nurs'd.*

Brother's Children, not their own, and offer Them to the Goddess; and represent in the Sacrifices whatever befel *Bacchus's* Nurses, and what *Ino* suffer'd from the Jealousie of *Juno*, who was incensed against her, for having nurtur'd the Son of her Rival. *Camillus* having made these Vows, marched into the Country of the *Falifces*, and in a great Battel overthrew Them and the *Capenates*, their Confederates. Afterwards he turned to the Siege of *Veii*, and finding that to take it by Assault would prove a difficult and hazardous Attempt, he cut Mines under Ground, the Earth about the City being easy to break up, allowing as much depth as would be sufficient for carrying on the Works, without being discovered by the Enemy. This Design going on in a hopeful way, he ordered a general Assault to be made upon the City, in order to draw the Besieged on to the Walls, whilst they that worked under Ground in the Mines were insensibly, without being perceived, got within the Castle, under the Temple of *Juno*, which was the greatest and most celebrated in all the City. It is reported, that the Prince of the *Tuscans* was at that very time at his Devotions, and that the Priest, after he had looked into the Entrails of the Beast, should cry out with a loud Voice, That *the Gods would give the Victory to Those that should finish those Sacrifices*: And that the *Romans* who were in the Mines hearing the Words, immediately pull'd down the Floor, and

By this it appears, that the Ceremony consisted not in embracing, but bearing in their Arms, offering to the Goddess, and recommending to her Protection: and This is undoubtedly *Plutarch's* Meaning. The Passage thus understood is very clear, and unfolds to us a singular Ceremony, which otherwise we should not have

known, or understood. By This we see the Goddess was bubbled by her Worshipers, who put the Change upon her, and knowing her ill Temper, found a means to elude it, by causing their Infants to be presented to her, not by their Mothers but their Aunts, and by that Artifice obtain'd what they wanted.

ascending with noise and clashing of Weapons fright-
ed away the Enemy, and snatching up the Entrails
carried them to *Camillus*. (1) But this may look like
a Fable. The City being taken by Storm, and the
Soldiers busied in pillaging and gathering an infi-
nite Quantity of Riches and Spoil, *Camillus* from
the Castle viewing what was done, at first wept
for Pity; and when They that were by congratu-
lated his good Success, he lift up his Hands to Hea-
ven, and broke out into this Prayer. *O most mighty
Jupiter, and ye Gods that are Judges of good and evil
Actions; Ye know that not without just Cause, but
constrained by necessity, we have been forced to revenge
our selves on the City of our unrighteous and implacable
Enemies. But if in the vicissitude of things, there be
any Calamity due, to countervail this great Felicity, I
beg that it may be diverted from the City and Army of
the Romans, (2) and with as little hurt as may be,
fall*

(1) Here *Plutarch* follows *Livy's* Reflection, who after having
related a Particularity of so extra-
ordinary a Nature, adds; *Sed in re-
bus tam antiquis si quæ similia ve-
ri sunt pro veris accipiantur, satis
habeam. Hac ad Ostentationem
Scenæ gaudentis miraculis aptiora,
quam ad fidem, neque affirmare,
neque refellere operæ Pretium est. But
in things of so remote a Date it will
be sufficient to have That which is
probable to pass for true. I do not
think it worth my while, either to
maintain, or refute such Incidents,
which are fitter for the Pomp of the
Stage, delighting in marvellous E-
vents, than the Exactness of Hi-
story.*

(2) *Livy*, who has inserted this
Prayer in his History, has not qua-
lified it with that Modification so
unworthy of *Camillus*, ἐλαχίστω

κακῶ, with as little Hurt as may
be. It is no surprising Proof of
our Virtue to request of the Gods
to throw on us some slight Mis-
fortune in order to avert the great-
est Calamities from our Country.
A Man with a moderate Share of
Patriotism may do as much. *Ca-
millus* therefore made the quite
contrary Request. He desir'd the
Gods to pour on him the greatest
of Evils, if that might be a means
to secure his Country from the
smallest. These are his Words.
*Ut eam invidiam lenire suo priva-
to in commodo, quam minimo pub-
lico Populi Romani liceret. That
the Envy of the Gods might be at-
ton'd rather by his own private Mis-
fortunes, than by the least Harm to
the Romans. This is the Demand
of a great and good Man. Thus
in like manner we see *Valerius
Maximus*,*

fall upon my own Head. Having said these Words, and just turning about (as the Custom of the Romans is to turn to the right when they worship or pray) he fell flat to the Ground, to the astonishment of all that were present. But recovering himself presently from the Fall, he told them, that

Maximus, a very judicious Writer, put the same Prayer in the Mouth of Camillus. *Precatus ut si cui Deorum nimia Felicitas Populi Romani videretur ejus Invidia suo aliquo Incommodo satiaretur.* Where the Word *aliquo* is not to be taken in a qualifying or restrictive Sense, but signifies *quolibet*, Any whatever; whatever the Gods shall please; as is evident from the same Author, who adds, *His Virtue equally appear'd in the Good he had done his Country, and in his Readiness to have whatever was bad to be diverted from her, and poured on his own Head.* *Æqua enim Virtutis & bona Patriæ auxisse, & Mala in se transferre voluisse.* The same Prayer was made a long time after by Paulus Æmilius, who when he had finish'd the Macedonian War with Honour and Success, desired of the Gods, *ut si quis eorum invideret Operibus, ac Fortuna sua in Ipsum potius sevirerent quam in Rempublicam.* From whence therefore ariseth this Difference between Plutarch and Livy? I hope I may be allowed to offer my Opinion upon the Case. Plutarch was misled by the Passage in Livy, where the Word *quam* stands for *potius quam*, which Plutarch being not aware of, he separated it from the latter, and joined it to the former Part of the Sentence: he read it, *ut eam Invidiam lenire suo privato incom-*

modo quam minimo, publico populi Romani liceret. Plutarch was not so well skilled in the Roman Language as to find out the Beauty of the Word *quam*, when put for *potius quam*. The learned Grenovius entered very justly into the Sense of this Passage, and was sensible that Camillus desired that the Envy of the Gods might be averted and appeased rather by his own Domestick Misfortunes than by the least Mishap that might befall his Country. Accordingly in his Edition of Plutarch in 1645, he incontestably establisheth this Explication. *Vera pietas Camilli in Patriam, faith he, exigit hanc Sententiam, ut omne deprecetur Patria, inque suum Caput verti petat;* and closeth his Observation with these Words, *notandus hic, ne in posterum alios fallat, Plutarchus, qui Livium nec cepit nec bene reddidit.* A Mark ought to be put upon Plutarch's oversight in this place, to prevent any one's being misled by him hereafter. He did not understand, and consequently knew not how to translate Livy as he should have done. For, adds he, Camillus did not in Livy, any more than did Paulus Æmilius in Velleius, demand any Mitigation or Abatement of the Punishments it should please the Gods to inflict upon him, he only desired they might be diverted from the Romans, and fall upon himself.

it had succeeded to his wish, (1) a small mischance in recompence of the greatest good fortune.

Having sacked the City, he resolved, according as he had vowed, to carry *Juno's* Image unto *Rome*; and the Workmen being ready for that purpose, he sacrificed to the Goddess, and made his Supplications, that she would be pleased to accept of their Devotion toward her, and graciously vouchsafe to accept of a Place among the Gods that presided at *Rome*: They say, that the Statue answered in a low Voice, *that she was ready and willing to go*. *Livy* writes, that in praying, *Camillus* touched the Goddess, and invited her; and that some of the standers-by cryed out, *that she was willing*. They who contend most for the Truth of this Miracle have the wonderful Fortune of that City on their sides, which from a small and contemptible beginning, attained to such Greatness and Power as it could never have done, without those many and great manifestations of God upon all occasions appearing for it. Besides, they produce other Wonders of the like nature, as the often sweating of Statues, and that they have some-

(1) This was a small Misfortune indeed, and a very easy Composition. It is certain that the Heathens were very careful either to accomplish, or evade the Oracles and Menaces of their Gods by favourable, tho' generally far-fetch' Applications. However it is very unlikely that a Man of *Camillus's* Years and Gravity would venture to expose himself in such a Manner before so many People, who, superstitious as they were, could not have forbore ridiculing so trifling a Circumstance. This piece of the History is of the same Stamp with the preceding; it is a conti-

nuance of the same Blunder. It is surprising that *Plutarch* should chuse rather to father so childish a Sentiment upon *Camillus*, than to follow *Livy*, who like a Man of good Sense tells us, that in time the Event made it conjectured, that this Fall of *Camillus* was a presage of his Condemnation and Banishment. *Idque omen pertinuisse postea eventus rem conjectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli*; which we have farther confirmed by *Valerius Maximus*, *quod omen ad damnationem, quod postea oppressus est, pertinuisse visum est*.

times

times been heard to groan; as likewise, that Some would shew their displeasure by turning their Faces aside, Others their approbation by a kind Look, as many Writers before our times have related; and We our selves could relate divers wonderful things which we have heard from Men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected. But to give too easy credit to such things, or wholly to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, by reason of human infirmity, which hath no bounds or command of it self, but is sometimes carried to superstition and dotage, otherwhile to the contempt and neglect of all Religion: But 'tis best to use Caution, and avoid Extremes. And yet *Camillus*, whether puffed up with the greatness of the Action, to have won a City that was competitor with *Rome*, and had held out a ten years Siege, or exalted with the flattery of those that were about him, assumed to himself more than became a civil and legal Magistrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtiness of his Triumph, driving through *Rome* in a Chariot drawn with four White Horses, no General either before or since having done the like; for the *Romans* esteem That Carriage to be sacred, and peculiar only to the King and Father of the Gods. This alienated the hearts of the Citizens from him, who were not accustomed to such an appearance of Pride and Grandeur.

The second Pique they had against him, was his opposing the Law by which the City was to be divided; for the Tribunes of the People propos'd a Law, that the People and Senate should each be divided into two Parts, One of which should remain at home, the Other, as the lot should give it, remove to the new-taken City. By which means they should not only have much more Room, but by the advantage of two great and fair Cities be better able to maintain their Territories, and secure

the rest of their Fortunes from any attempts of their Enemies. The People therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced it, and in great Crouds began to be tumultuous in the publick Courts, demanding to have it put to the Vote. But the Senate and ablest Citizens judging the Proceedings of the Tribunes to tend rather to the Destruction than Division of *Rome*, yet unable to bear up against it themselves, flew to *Camillus* for assistance; who fearing to come to an open rupture, by continual flinging in new occasions to busy and employ their heads, made a shift to stave off the Law. For these things he was displeas'd by the People. But the greatest and most apparent cause of their Hatred against him, arose from the Tenth of the Spoil, the Multitude having herein, if not so just, yet a plausible pretence against him. For it seems, as he went to the Siege of *Veii*, he had vowed to *Apollo*, that if he took the City, he would dedicate to Him the tenth of the Spoil. The City being taken and sacked, whether he was loth to disoblige the Soldiers at that time, or that thro' multitude of Business he had forgotten his Vow, he suffer'd them to enjoy that part of the Spoils also. Some time afterwards, when his Authority was laid down, he brought the Matter before the Senate; and the Priests at the same time reported out of the Sacrifices, that the Anger of the Gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeased without Expiation and Offerings. The Senate decreed the Obligation to be in force.

But seeing it was difficult for every one to produce the very same things they had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained that every one upon Oath should bring into the Publick the tenth part of his gain. This seem'd very severe and grievous to the Soldiers, who ceased not to murmur, that poor Men, and such as had endured so much labour

labour and travail in the War, should be forced, out of what they had gained and spent, to bring in so great a proportion. *Camillus* being assaulted by their Clamour and Tumults, for want of a better Excuse, betook himself to the meanest of Defences, by confessing he had forgotten his Vow; but they complain'd that he who then vowed the tenth of the Enemy, now levied it out of the tenths of the Citizens. Nevertheless, every one having brought in his proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a Bowl of massy Gold should be made and sent to *Delphi*. But there was great scarcity of Gold in the City; and when the Magistrates were considering where to get it, the *Roman* Ladies meeting together, and consulting among themselves, out of the golden Ornaments they wore, contributed as much as went to the making the Offering, which in weight came to eight Talents of Gold. The Senate, to give them the Honour they had deserved, ordained that Funeral Orations should be used at the Obsequies of Women, as well as Men; it having never before been a Custom that any Woman after Death was publickly praised. Choosing out therefore three of the chief of the Nobility for Ambassadors, they sent them in a large Vessel, or Galley, well mann'd, and sumptuously adorned. It was Winter, and the Sea was calm: however, it is remarkable, that being brought almost to the very brink of Destruction, beyond all Expectation, they escaped the Danger. For hard by the Isles of *Æolus*, the Winds slacking, the Gallies of the *Lipareans* came upon them, taking them for Pirates. But when they held up their Hands in suppliant manner, the *Lipareans* forbore violence, only fastned their Ship, and towed her into the Harbour, where they exposed to Sale their Goods and Persons, adjudging them to be lawful Prize. But by the Virtue and Interest of one Man,

(1) *Tima-*

(1) *Timasithius* by Name, who was Governor of that Place, and used his utmost Persuasion, they were with much ado dismissed. Besides, he himself joined some of his own Vessels with them, to accompany them in their Voyage, and assist them at the Dedication: (2) For which he received Honours at *Rome* according as he had deserved. And now the Tribunes of the People again resuming the Law about the division of the City, the War against the *Falisci* luckily broke out, giving liberty to the Nobility to chuse what Magistrates they pleased, who thereupon chose *Camillus Military Tribune*, with five other Associates; Affairs then requiring a Commander of Authority and Reputation, and one well experienced in War. When the People had ratified the Election, *Camillus* marched with his Forces into the Territories of the *Falisci*, and besieged *Falerii* a well-fenced City, and plentifully stored with all necessaries of War: And tho' he perceived it would be no small Work to take it, nor little time spent about it, yet he was willing to exercise the Citizens, and keep them doing abroad, that they might have no leisure, idling at home, to follow the Tribunes into Faction and Sedition. Which remedy the *Romans* constantly used, like good Physicians, throwing out those violent Humours that would otherwise disturb the Commonwealth. The *Falerians*, trusting to the Strength of their City, which was well fortified on all sides, made so little account of the Siege, that beside Those that guarded the Walls, the rest, as in Times of Peace, walked the Streets in their common Habits. The Boys went to

(1) *Livy* thought he gave him the highest Commendation when he said, *Vir Romanis Similior quam Suis. A Man more like the Romans than his Fellow-Citizens.*

(2) The Senate decreed, that the Right of Hospitality should be established between him and the *Romans*, and made him Presents at the Publick Charge.

School,

School, and were led by their Master to play and exercise about the Town-walls; for the *Falerians*, like the *Grecians*, used one publick School, to the end, their Children being brought up together, might betimes learn to converse and be familiar with one another.

This School-master designing to betray the *Falerians* by their Children, led them out every day under the Town-wall; at first but a little way, and when they had exercised brought them home again. Afterwards by degrees he drew them farther and farther, till by practice he had made them Bold and Fearless, as if no Danger was near them. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Out-guard of the *Romans*, and delivered them up, demanding to be led to *Camillus*. Where being come, and standing in the middle, he said, *That he was the Master and Teacher of those Children, but preferring His Favour before all other Obligations, he was come to deliver up his Charge to him, and in that the whole City.* When *Camillus* had heard him out, he was struck with the horror of so treacherous an Act; and turning to the Standers-by, he said, *What a sad thing is War, which is the Cause of so much Injustice and Violence! (1) But to good Men there are certian Laws even in War it self, and Victory is not so greedily to be hunted after, as not to avoid the reproach of having gained it by base and unworthy Actions; for it becomes a great General to rely on his own Virtue, and not on the Deceit and Treachery of Others.* Which said, he commanded his Officers to tear off his Clothes, and bind his Hands behind him, and give the Boys Rods and Scourges, to punish the Traitor, and drive him

(1) *Sunt & belli sicut Pacis Fura, justéque ea non minus quam fortiter didicimus genere.* Liv. lib. 5. c. 27. It is worth the while to compare the Discourse which Livy puts in *Camillus's* Mouth on this Occasion, with what *Plutarch* makes him say in this Place.

back to the City. By this time the *Falerii* had understood the Treachery of the School-master; and the City, as in such a general Calamity it must needs be, was full of Lamentations and Cries, the Honourable Men and Women running in Distraction about the Walls and Gates; when behold the Boys came whipping their Master on, naked and bound, calling *Camillus* their Saviour, their God, their Father; insomuch that it struck not only into the Parents, but the rest of the Citizens that saw what was done, such an Admiration and Love of *Camillus's* Justice, that immediately running into Council, they sent Ambassadors to him, to resign whatever they had to his disposal. *Camillus* sent them to *Rome*, where being brought into the Senate, they spoke to this purpose: *That the Romans, preferring Justice before Victory, had taught them rather to embrace Submission than Liberty; that they could not confess Themselves to be so much inferior in Strength, as they must acknowledge Them to be superior in Virtue.* The Senate remitted the whole matter to *Camillus*, to judge and order as he thought fit: Who taking a Sum of Money of the *Falerians*, and making a Peace with the whole Nation of the *Falisci*, returned home. But the Soldiers, who expected to have had the Pillage of the City, when they came to *Rome* empty-handed, railed against *Camillus* among their Fellow-Citizens, as a Hater of the People, and one that maliciously opposed the Interest of the Poor. Afterwards, when the Tribunes of the People again proposed the Law for dividing the City, *Camillus*, of all others, most openly appeared against it, sparing no Pains, but inveighing with all boldness against the Promoters of it; so that by his Authority he persuaded the People, even against their Inclinations, to drop the Law: But the People inwardly hated him for it, as soon after appeared; for tho' a great Misfortune befel him in his

Family,

Family, (one of his Sons dying of a Disease) yet the Commiseration of his Case could not in the least make them abate of their Malice. And indeed he took this Loss with immoderate Sorrow, being a Man naturally of a mild and tender Disposition; even that Day when the Accusation was preferred against him he kept House, and was shut up a close Mourner with the Women. His Accuser was *Licius Apuleius*; the Crime, Fraud in the *Tuscan* Spoils: And accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain Brass Gates, part of those Spoils. The People were exasperated against him, and it was plain they would take hold of the least pretence and occasion to condemn him. Wherefore gathering together his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers, and such as had bore Command with him, a considerable number in all, he besought them, that they would not suffer him to be unjustly crushed under false Accusations, and left the mock and scorn of his Enemies. His Friends having advised and consulted among themselves, made Answer, That as to the Sentence, they did not see how they could help him, but that they would contribute to whatsoever Fine should be set upon him. Not able to endure so great an Indignity, he resolved in his Anger to leave the City, and go into Exile. Wherefore having taken leave of his Wife, and his Son, (1) he went silently to the Gate of the City, where making a stand, and turning himself about, he stretched out his Hands to the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if without any Fault of his own, but merely through the Malice and Violence of the People, he was driven into Banishment, the Romans might quickly have Cause to repent of it; and that all Mankind might visibly perceive that they*

(1) This was four Years after | Year of the 98th Olympiad, and
the Reduction of *Falerii*, the 1st | of Rome 365.

needed his Assistance, and longed for his return. Thus like *Achilles*, having left his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Banishment; so that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the Sum of fifty thousand *Asses*, which reduced to Silver, made a thousand five hundred *Drachma's*; for an *Ass*, with regard to Silver, was a tenth part in Value of a Silver Coin to which it gave Denomination, *viz.* a *Denarins*. There is not a *Roman* but does believe that immediately upon the Prayers of *Camillus*, a sudden Judgment followed at the Heels, and that he received a sufficient Revenge for the Injustice done to him; which tho' we cannot think was pleasant, but rather grievous and bitter to him, yet it was very remarkable, and noised over the whole World: For such Vengeance fell upon the City of *Rome*, and such dismal times succeeded, as drew along with them all manner of Dangers and Deaths, accompanied with Disgrace and Infamy: Whether or no this was meerly a work of Chance or Fortune, (1) or of some God, whose Office it was to see that injured Virtue should not go unpunished, I do not determine. The first Token that seemed to threaten some Mischiefs to ensue, was (2) the Death of the Censor, which happened in the Month of *July*; for the *Romans* have a religious Reverence for the Office of a Censor, and esteem it a sacred thing. The second was, That just before *Camillus* went into Exile, *Marcus Cedicius*, a Person of no great Quality,

(1) It was the Goddess *Nemesis*, to whom the Ancients ascribed the Care or Office of punishing evil Actions, particularly Pride and Ingratitude.

(2) The Censor was *C. Fulius*, who dying that Year they named *M. Cornelius* to succeed him; but ever after when a Censor happen-

ed to die in his Office they religiously forbore naming another in his Place, because soon after This the City was taken. Nay, they were so scrupulous in that Particular, that they obliged the Other Censor to quit his Dignity upon the Death of his Collegue, whenever that happened.

nor

nor of the Rank of Senators, but esteemed a sober and credible Man, reported to the *Military Tribunes* a thing worthy their Consideration: That going along the Night before in that Street which is called the *New Way*, and being called upon by a huge Voice, he turned about but could see no Body, but heard a Voice bigger than a Man's, which said these Words: Go, Marcus Cedicius, and early in the Morning tell the *Military Tribunes*, that suddenly they are to expect the Gauls. But the Tribunes made a mock and sport with the Story; however *Camillus's* disgrace followed soon after.

The *Gauls* are descended originally of the (1) *Celtæ*, and are reported by reason of their vast Numbers to have left their Country, which was not able to sustain them all, and to have gone in search of other more fertile places. And being many thousands of them young Men and able to bear Arms, and carrying with them a greater number of Women and young Children, Some of them passing the *Riphaean Mountains*, fell upon the Northern Ocean, and possessed the utmost bounds of *Europe*; Others seating themselves between the *Pyrenean Mountain* and the *Alps*, for a long time lived near to the (2) *Senones* and *Celtorii*. But afterwards tasting of the Wine which was then first brought them out of *Italy*, they were all so much taken with the Liquor, and transported with the unusual Delight, that snatching up their Arms, and taking their Parents along with them, they marched directly to the *Alps* to find out that Country which yielded such Fruit, esteeming all others barren and unpleasant.

(1) The Ancients call'd all the Inhabitants of the West and North, as far as *Scythia*, by the common Name of *Celtæ*. *Strab. lib. 1.* Troyes, as far up as *Paris*. It is not known who the *Celtorii* were. *Ortelius* thinks there is an Error in the Text. *Vid. Liv. lib. 5. c. 34.*

(2) The Country of the *Senones* contained *Sens*, *Auxerre* and

He that first brought Wine among them, and was the chief Instigator to draw them into *Italy*, was said to be one *Arron* a *Tuscan*, a Man of Noble Extraction, by Nature not Evil, but provoked to it upon this Occasion: He was Guardian to an Orphan, one of the richest of that Country, and much admired for his Beauty, his Name *Lucumo*; from his Childhood he had been bred up with *Arron* in his Family, and now grown up, he left not the House, pretending to take great delight in his Conversation; thus for a great while together he secretly enjoyed *Arron's* Wife, corrupting, and being corrupted by her. But when they were Both so far gone in their Passions, that they could neither refrain their Lust or conceal it, the young Man seized the Woman, and openly carried her away. The Husband going to Law, and over-power'd in the Multitude of Friends and Money, left his own Country; and hearing of the State of the *Gauls*, went to them, and was Conductor of that Expedition into *Italy*. At first coming they easily possessed themselves of all that Country which antiently the *Tuscans* inhabited, reaching from the *Alps* to both the Seas, as the Names themselves witness; for the North Sea *Adria* is so called from the *Tuscan* City *Adria*, and That which lies on the other side to the South is called the *Tuscan* Sea. All the Country is well planted with Trees, has pleasant and rich Pasture, and is well watered with Rivers. It had eighteen fair and stately Cities, excellently seated for Industry and Trade, and plentifully provided for all Pleasures and Delights. The *Gauls* casting out the *Tuscans*, seated themselves in them: But these things were done long before.

But the *Gauls* at this time were besieging *Clusium*, a *Tuscan* City. The *Clusians* sent to the *Romans* for Succour, desiring them to interpose with the *Barbarians* by their Letters and Ambassadors. There
were

were sent three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and most honourable in the City. The *Gauls* received them courteously in respect to the Name of *Rome*; and giving over the Assault which was then making upon the Walls, came to Conference with them; where the Ambassadors asking what Injury they had received of the *Clusians*, that they thus invaded their City; *Brennus*, King of the *Gauls*, smiling made Answer, *The Clusians do us Injury, in that, not able to till a small Parcel of Ground, they must needs possess a great Territory, and will not communicate any part to us, who are Strangers, many in number, and poor. In the same nature, O ye Romans, formerly the Albans, Fidenates and Ardeates, and now lately the Veians and Capenates, and many of the Falisces and Volsces did you Injury; upon whom ye make War if they do not yield you part of what they possess, ye make Slaves of them, ye waste and spoil their Country, and ruin their Cities: neither in so doing are ye cruel or unjust, but follow that most antient of all Laws, which gives the things of the feeble to the strong; for so it is from God himself down to the Beasts, Nature teaching all these that the stronger is to take Advantage of the weaker. Leave off therefore to pity the Clusians whom we besiege, lest ye teach the Gauls to be good and compassionate to Those that are oppressed by you.* By this Answer the *Romans* perceived that *Brennus* was not to be treated with; so they went into *Clusium*, and encouraged and stirred up the Inhabitants to make a Sally with them upon the *Barbarians*, which they did either to try the strength of the *Clusians*, or to shew their Own. The Sally being made, and the Fight growing hot about the Walls, one of the *Fabii*, *Quintus Ambustus*, being well mounted, and setting Spurs to his Horse, made full against a *Gaul*, a Man of huge Bulk and Stature, whom he saw advanced a great distance from the rest. At the

first he was not perceived, through the sharpness of the Encounter, and the glittering of his Armour that hindred the sight of him; but when he had overthrown the *Gaul*, and was going to gather the Spoils, *Brennus* knew him, and invoking the Gods to be Witnesses, that contrary to the known and common Law of Nations, which is holily observed by all Mankind, he who came as an Ambassador had committed Acts of Hostility, he drew off his Men, and bidding the *Clusians* farewell, led his Army directly to *Rome*. But not willing it should look as if he took advantage of an Injury done by a particular Person, and was therefore ready to embrace any slight occasion or pretence of Quarrel, he sent an Herald to demand the Man in Punishment, and in the mean time marched leisurely on. The Herald being arrived at *Rome*, and the Senate assembled, among many others that spoke against the *Fabii*, the Priests called *Feciales* were the most violent Prosecutors, who laying Religion before the Senate, advised them to lay the whole guilt and expiation of the Fact upon him that committed it, as the best means of averting the Anger of the Gods from the rest of the City. These *Feciales*, *Numa Pompilius*, the mildest and justest of Kings, constituted the Conservators of Peace, and the Judges and Determiners of all Causes for which War might justifiably be made. The Senate referring the whole Matter to the People, and the Priests there as well as in the Senate pleading against *Fabius*, the Multitude did so little regard their Authority in religious matters, that in scorn and contempt of it, they chose *Fabius* and the rest of his Brethren *Military Tribunes*. The *Gauls* hearing this, in great Rage would no longer delay their March, but hastned on with all the Speed they could make. The Places through which they marched, terrified with their Numbers, and such
dreadful

dreadful Preparations of War, and considering the violence and fierceness of their Natures, began to give their Countries for lost, not doubting but their Cities would quickly follow ; but contrary to Expectation they did no Injury as they passed, nor committed any Acts of hostility in the Countries they passed through ; and when they went by any City they cried out, *that they were going to Rome ; that the Romans only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* Thus whilst the *Barbarians* were hastning with all Speed, the *Military Tribunes* brought the *Romans* into the Field to be ready to engage them, being not inferior to the *Gauls* in Number, (for they were no less than forty thousand Foot) but most of them raw Soldiers, and such as had never handled a Weapon before ; besides they had neglected to consult the Gods, as they ought and used to do upon all difficulties, especially War, but ran on without staying for Priests or Sacrifice. No less did (1) the multitude of Commanders distract and confound their Proceedings ; for before upon less occasions they chose a single Person called *Dictator*, being sensible of what great Importance it is in times of Danger, to have the Soldiers united under one General, who had absolute and unaccountable Power in his hands. Add to all, that the Remembrance of *Camillus's* case was no small hindrance to their Affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command, without humouring and courting the Soldiers. In this condition they left the City, and encamped by the River *Allia*, about eleven Miles from *Rome*, and not far from the Place where it falleth into the *Tyber* ; where the *Gauls* coming upon them, and they

(1) This is not the first nor single Instance how fatal the Multitude of Commanders have proved. History affords many Occa-

sions of acknowledging the Truth of that Maxim in *Homer*, ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ ἐς κοίρανός ἐσσι.

shamefully engaging without Order or Discipline, were miserably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there utterly destroyed: The Right had less Damage, by declining the shock, and from the low Grounds getting to the tops of the Hills, from whence many of them afterwards drop'd into the City; the Rest, as many as escaped, (the Enemy being weary of the Slaughter) stole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for gone, and all that was in it for lost. This Battel was fought about the Summer Solstice, the Moon being at full, the very same Day in which formerly happened that sad misfortune to the *Fabii*, when three hundred of that Name and Family were at one time cut off by the *Tuscan*s. But from this second loss and defeat, as being greater than the former, the day got the name of *Alliensis*, from the River *Allia*, and still retaineth it. But concerning unlucky Days, whether we shou'd esteem any such or no, or (1) whether *Heraclitus* did well in upbraiding *Hesiod* for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every Day is the same, I have discovered in another Place; but upon occasion of this present Subject, I think it will not be amiss to annex a few Examples relating to this Matter. On the (2) fifth of

(1) *Hesiod* added at the End of his Book of *Works and Days*, a small Piece of Sixty four Verses, wherein he treats of the Difference of Days, which he pretends are naturally happy, or unhappy, or middling. By which it is evident that this Superstition, with which the Minds of a great many Christians are still infected, is of a long standing. The Heathens founded this Difference either on the occult Power of Numbers, or on the Nature of the Divinities

presiding over each Day respectively, or on the Observation of past Occurrences. *Chrysippus* oppos'd this Error with a great deal of Force, proving that all Days are alike, and that whatever falls out either fortunate or otherwise, is not owing to any peculiar Influence of the Day whereon it happens, but to a very different cause, that has no manner of Dependance either upon This or That Day.

(2) And yet *Hesiod* had asserted that the Fifth Day of every Month

of *June* the *Bæotians* happened to get two signal Victories, the one about *Leuctra*, the other at *Gerrastus*, about three hundred Years before, when they overcame *Lattamyas* and the *Theffalians*, and asserted the Liberty of *Greece*. Again, on the sixth of *August* the *Persians* were worsted by the *Grecians* at *Marathon*; on the third at *Platææ*, as also at *Mycale*; on the twenty sixth at *Arbeli*. The *Athenians* about the full Moon in *August* got a Sea Victory about *Naxus*, under the Conduct of *Chabrias*; about the twentieth at *Salamin*, as we have shewn in our Book of *Days*. *April* was very unfortunate to the *Barbarians*, for in that Month *Alexander* overcame *Darius's* General at *Granicus*, and the *Carthaginians* on the twenty fourth were beaten by *Timoleon* in *Sicily*; on which same Day and Month *Troy* seems to have been taken, as (1) *Ephorus*, *Callisthenes*, *Damastes* and *Phylarchus* have related. On the other hand, the Month *July* was not very lucky to the *Grecians*; for on the seventh Day of the same they were defeated by *Antipater*, at the Battel in *Cranon*, and utterly ruined; and before that in *Chæroneæ* they were defeated by *Philip*; and on the very same Day, same Month, and same Year, they that went with *Archidamus* into *Italy* were there cut off by the *Barbarians*. The *Carthaginians* observe the twenty second of the same Month, as bringing with it the most and greatest

Month was unfortunate, because the Furies were then abroad. A weighty Reason!

(1) *Ephorus* was *Isocrates's* Disciple, and wrote the History of 750 Years, in which he included all the Transactions both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, from the Return of the *Heraclids*.

Callisthenes was *Aristotle's* Scholar and Relation. Among other

of his Works there was One that treated of the *Trojan* War. Being accused of conspiring against *Alexander* he was tortured to Death, tho' innocent of the Accusation.

Damastes, one of *Hellanicus's* Scholars, was of *Sigéum* a Promontory in *Troas*. He wrote a *Greek* History, and a Treatise of the Ancestors of Those who had been at the Siege of *Troy*.

of their losses. I am not ignorant on the other side, that at the time of celebrating the Feast of *Mysteries*, *Thebes* was destroyed by *Alexander*; and after that, upon the same twentieth of *August*, on which Day they celebrated the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, the *Athenians* received a Garrison of the *Macedonians*: So the same Day has been both fortunate and unfortunate to the *Romans*, for on the self-same Day they lost their Camp under *Cæpio*, by the *Cimbrians*, and under the Conduct of *Lucullus* overcame the *Armenians* and *Tigranes*. King *Attalus* and *Pompey* died both on their Birth-days. I could reckon up several that have had variety of Fortune on the same Day. However it be, the *Romans* reckon the Day wherein they received this Defeat at *Allia* as unfortunate; and as Fear and Superstition are wont to encrease upon any Misfortune, they do not only distinguish That as Such in their Kalendar, but the Two next that follow it in order in every Month throughout the Year. But I have discoursed this more accurately in my Book of *Roman Questions*.

And now after the Battel, had the *Gauls* immediately pursued those that fled, there had been no remedy but *Rome* must have wholly been ruined, and All who remained in it utterly destroyed; such was the Terror that Those who escaped the Battel had struck into the City at their Return, and so great afterwards was the Distraction and Confusion. But the *Gauls*, not imagining their Victory to be so considerable, and overtaken with the present Joy, fell to feasting and dividing the Spoil, by which means they gave leisure to Such as were for leaving the City to make their escape, and to Those that remained to provide and prepare for their coming. For They who resolved to stay at *Rome*, quitting the rest of the City, betook themselves to the Capitol, which they fortified with
strong

strong Ramparts and Mounds, and furnished with all sorts of Arms. But their first and principal care was of their Holy Things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. But as for the Consecrated Fire, the *Vestal Virgins* took it up and fled away with it, as likewise with other Holy Relicks. Some write that they preserved nothing but that *Ever-living* Fire, which *Numa* had ordained to be worshipped as the Principle of all things; for Fire is the most active thing in Nature, and all Generation is Motion, or at least, with Motion; all other parts of matter without warmth lie sluggish and dead, and crave the Influence of Heat as their Life, which when it comes upon them, they presently fall to doing or suffering something. Wherefore *Numa*, a Man very curious in such things, and for his Wisdom thought to converse with the Muses, did consecrate Fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning, in resemblance of that Eternal Power which preserveth and actuateth all things. Others say, that according to the usage of the *Greeks*, the Fire always burns before Holy Places, to put us in mind of the Purity of such Places; but that there were other things hid in the most secret part of the Temple, which were kept from the View of All except those Virgins which they call *Vestals*. The most common Opinion was, that the Image of *Pallas*, brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, was laid up there: Others say, that the *Samothracian Gods* lay there; telling a Story, (1) *how that Dardanus*

nus

(1) The Poet *Aretinus*, and after Him *Callistratus*, who wrote a History of *Samothrace*, gave an account how *Crysa* the Daughter of *Pallas* marrying *Dardanus*, brought him in Dowry several Presents she had received from *Minerva*, consisting in two Statues of that Goddess, and in some Others of the Gods call'd *Cabiri*, i. e. the Gods Great, or Powerful; that when the *Arcadians*, to avoid the Deluge, had retired into *Samothrace*, *Dardanus* built a Temple to those Gods whose Names he concealed from every one, and establish'd the Form, or Manner of their Worship; that afterwards he

nus carried them to Troy, and when he had built that City, dedicated them there ; that after Troy was taken, Æneas stole them away, and kept them till his coming into Italy. But They who pretend to understand more of these things, affirm, that there are two Barrels, not of any great Size, one of which stands open, and has nothing in it, the other full and sealed up ; but that neither of them is to be seen but by the most Holy Virgins. Others think, that They who say this are deceived, because the Virgins put most of their holy things into two Barrels, and hid them under Ground in the Temple of *Quirinus*, and that from hence that Place to this Day bears the Surname of *Barrels*, or *Doliola*. However it be, taking the choicest and most venerable things they had, they fled away with them, shaping their Course along the River side, where *Lucius Albinus*, a simple Citizen of *Rome*, who among Others was making his escape, overtook them, having his Wife, Children and Goods in a Cart ; who seeing the Virgins lugging in their Arms the Holy Relicks of the Gods in a helpless and weary Condition, he caused his Wife and Children to descend ; and taking out his Goods, put the Virgins in the Cart, that they might make their escape to some of the *Grecian* Cities. This extraordinary Devotion of *Albi-*

carry'd them with him into *Asia* ; that his Descendants consecrated to them a Temple in the Citadel of *Ilium*, where they were kept with great Care ; and that when the lower Town was taken by the *Greeks*, and Æneas had made himself Master of the Citadel, he remov'd those Gods, and carry'd them with him into *Italy*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* seems to be of Opinion, that the *Penates*, or Household Gods, were among these *Trojan* Deities, which he had seen

in an old Temple at *Rome*. They represented two young men sitting, and holding each a Lance in his Hand of antique Workmanship, and with this Inscription *DENAS*, instead of *PENAS*, with which agrees that Verse in *Virgil*, *Cum Penatibus, & magnis Diis*. I think it needless to enquire who those Gods were, since the very People that worshipp'd them never knew their Names, so that the best will be but uncertain Conjecture.

nus, and respect to the Gods, in such an exigence of Time, and extremity of his own Affairs, is so remarkable, as not to be passed over in silence. But the Priests that belonged to other Gods, and the most ancient of the Senators, such as had past through many Consulships and Triumphs, could not endure to think of leaving the City; but putting on their holy Vestures and Robes of State, and *Fabius* the High-Priest performing the Office, they made their Prayers to the Gods, and devoting themselves as it were for their Country, sat themselves down in Ivory Chairs in the Market-place, and in that Posture expected the uttermost of what should follow. On the third day after the Battle, *Brennus* appeared with his Army at the City; and finding the Gates to stand wide open, and no Guards upon the Walls, he first began to suspect it was some Design or Stratagem, never dreaming that the *Romans* were in so low and forsaken a Condition. But when he found it to be so indeed, he entered at the *Colline* Gate, and took *Rome* in the Three hundred and sixtieth Year, or a little more, after it was built; if it be likely that (1) an exact account of those times has been preserved, when there is so much Confusion and Dispute in things of a later date. The Report of the City's being taken presently flew into *Greece*, tho' in different and uncertain Rumours; for *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, (2) who lived not long after these Times, in his Book

(1) *Livy* gives us very clearly to understand in the Beginning of his sixth Book, that they had no authentick Account of the Transactions of those times, as well because the *Romans* did not then set up for Authors, as because the Commentaries of their Pontiffs, and their other Monuments, both publick and private, had been de-

stroyed by Fire. It is something strange that at a time when *Greece* abounded with famous Historians, excellent Poets, and great Philosophers, *Rome* had not one Writer belonging to her. It was late before the *Romans* began to study the *Greek* Authors.

(2) He lived at the same time; for he was at first *Plato's* Scholar, and

Book of the Soul, relates that a certain Report came from the West, that an Army proceeding from the *Hyperboreans* had taken a Greek City called *Rome*, seated somewhere upon the great Sea. But I do not wonder that (1) such a fabulous and bumbast Author as *Heraclides* should embellish his account of the taking of *Rome* with such high-flown Words as *Hyperborean* and *Great Sea*. *Aristotle* the Philosopher appears to have heard of the taking of the City by the *Gauls*; but as he calls Him who recovered it *Lucius*, (when *Camillus* was not called *Lucius*, but *Marcus*,) he could have his account only by hearsay. *Brennus* having thus got Possession of *Rome*, set a strong Guard about the Capitol, and going himself to view the City, when he came into the Market-place, he was struck with Amazement at the sight of so many Men sitting in that Order and Silence, observing that they neither rose at his coming, or so much as changed Colour or Countenance, but without Fear or Concern leaned upon their Staves, and in that fullen Majesty sat looking one upon the other. The *Gauls* for a great while stood wond'ring at the Object, being surpris'd with the strangeness of it, not daring so much as to approach or touch them,

and afterwards *Aristotle's*; and *Plato* was but 41 Years old when *Rome* was taken.

(1) *Plutarch's* Censure of *Heraclides* in this Place is not well founded. He reproves him for embellishing his Account, and giving it the Air of a Fable, by introducing such high-flown Words as the *Hyperboreans* and *Great Sea*; for the Term *Hyperboreans* is no more fabulous than his own Term the *Celts*; and the *Great Sea* is an Expression as allowable, as the *Hetrurian*, or *Tuscan Sea*. *Plutarch* forgets here that the Ancients called the *Mediterranean* the *Great*

Sea, in Opposition to the *Euxine*; and that they called all the Inhabitants of the North by the general Name of *Hyperboreans*, which signifies no more than *very northerly*. However it is not to be deny'd but that *Heraclides* was a very fabulous Author. It was a Vice in common with the ancient Philosophers as well as Historians; they mingled Fables with History, where the Wonderful produced the Agreeable; notwithstanding which they sometimes told the Truth, as appears in *Herodotus*, who in the main was as fabulous a Writer as *Heraclides*.

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taking them for an Assembly of the Gods. But when One, bolder than the rest, drew near to *M. Papirius*, and putting forth his Hand, gently touched his Chin, and stroked his long Beard, *Papirius* with his Staff struck him on the Head, and broke it; at which, the *Barbarian* enraged, drew out his Sword, and slew him. This was the Introduction to the Slaughter; for the rest of his Fellows following this Example, set upon them all and killed them, and continuing their rage, dispatched All that came in their way: In this fury they went on to the sacking and pillaging the Houses for many days together, carrying away all they found in them: Afterwards they set fire to them, and demolish'd what the Fire had left standing, being incensed at Those who kept the Capitol, because they would not yield to Summons, or hearken to a Surrender, but on the contrary from their Walls and Ramparts galled the Besiegers with their Slings and Darts. This provoked Them to destroy the whole City, and put to the Sword all that came to their Hands, young and old, Men, Women and Children. And now the Siege of the Capitol having lasted a good while, the *Gauls* began to be in want of Provision: wherefore dividing their Forces, part of them stay'd with the King at the Siege, whilst the rest went to forage the Country, destroying the Towns and Villages where they came; yet not all together in a Body, but in different Squadrons and Parties. And to such a Confidence had Success raised them, that they carelessly rambled about, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. But the greatest and best-ordered Body of their Forces went to the City of *Ardea*, where *Camillus* then sojourned, having ever since his leaving *Rome* sequestred himself from all Business, and taken to a private Life: but now he began to rouse up and cast about, not how to avoid or escape the Enemy, but to find out an opportunity

portunity how to be revenged of them. And perceiving that the *Ardeans* wanted not Men, but rather Heart and Courage, which was owing to the Cowardise and little Experience of their Officers in military Affairs, at first he began to deal with the young Men, flinging out Words among them, *That they ought not to ascribe the misfortune of the Romans to the Courage of their Enemy, or attribute the losses They sustained by rash Counsel, to the Conduct of Those who brought nothing with them to conquer, but were only an Evidence of the Power of Fortune: That it was a brave thing, even with danger to repel a Foreign and Barbarous War, whose end in conquering, was like Fire to lay waste and destroy. But if they would be courageous and resolute, he was ready to put an opportunity in their Hands to gain a Victory without hazard at all.* When he found the young Men embrac'd the thing, he went to the chief Officers and Governors of the City, and having persuaded Them also, he muster'd all that could bear Arms, and drew them up within the Walls, that they might not be perceived by the Enemy who was near; who having scoured the Country, and returned heavy laden with Booty, lay encamped in the Plains in a careless and negligent Posture; so that the Night coming upon them who had been disordered with Wine, there was great silence through all the Camp. Which when *Camillus* understood by his Spies, he drew out the *Ardeans*, and in the dead of Night, passing in silence the Ground that lay between the Enemy and the Town, he made himself Master of their Works; and then commanding his Trumpets to sound, and his Men to shout and hollow, he struck such terror into them, that even They who took the Alarm, could hardly recover their Senses. Some were so over-charged with Wine, that all the noise of the Assailants could not awaken them: A few, whom Fear made sober, getting into some order,

order, for a while resisted, and so died with their Weapons in their Hands. But the greatest part of them, buried in Wine and Sleep, were surprised without their Arms, and dispatched: A small Number, that by the Advantage of the Night got out of the Camp, were the next day found wandering in the Fields, and were pick'd up by the Horse that pursued them. The Fame of this Action presently flew thro' the neighbouring Cities, and stirred up the Youth of all Parts to come and join themselves with him. But None were so much concerned as those *Romans* who had escaped in the Battel of *Allia*, and were now at *Veii*, thus lamenting with themselves: *O Heavens, what a Commander has Providence bereaved Rome of, to honour Ardea with his Actions! And that City, which brought forth and nursed so great a Man, is lost and gone; and We destitute of a Leader, and living within strange Walls, sit idle, and see Italy ruin'd before our Eyes. Come, let us send to the Ardeans to have back our General, or else, with Weapons in our Hands, let us go thither to him; for He is no longer an Exile Man, nor We Citizens, having no Country, but what is in the possession of the Enemy.* They all agreed upon the matter, and sent to *Camillus*, to desire him to take the Command; (1) but he answered, that he would not, until They that were in the Capitol should legally chuse him; for he esteemed Them, as long as they were in being, to

(1) *Camillus*, tho' banish'd, was so strict an Observer of the Laws of his Country, that he would not so much as change the Place of his Exile without a Decree of the Senate and People, as we are told expressly by *Livy*; who likewise saith that the *Romans* who were at *Veii*, would not invite *Camillus* to head them before they had the Permission of the Senate so to do;

upon which he makes the following beautiful Reflection, which ought never to be forgotten, *Adeo regebat omnia Pudor, discriminaque rerum, prope perditis rebus servabant.* Such an inviolate Obedience did they pay to the legal Authority, such strict Observers were they of order and distinction, even when they were upon the brink of Ruin.

be his Country: that if They should command him, he would readily obey; but against their Consents, he would intermeddle with nothing. When this Answer was returned, they admired the Modesty and Temper of *Camillus*, but they could not tell how to find a Messenger to carry these things to the Capitol; and what was more, it seem'd altogether impossible for any one to get to them, whilst the Enemy was in full Possession of the City. But among the young Men, there was one *Pontius Cominius*, of indifferent Birth, but ambitious of Honour; this Man proffered himself to run the hazard, but he took no Letters with him to Those in the Capitol, lest that being intercepted, the Enemy might learn by them the Intentions of *Camillus*. But putting on a poor Garment, and carrying Corks under it, the greatest part of the way he boldly travelled by Day, and came to the City when it was dark: The Bridge he could not pass, by reason it was guarded by the *Barbarians*; so that taking his Clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and binding them about his Head, he laid his Body upon the Corks, and swimming on them, got over to the City. And avoiding those Quarters where he perceived the Enemy was awake, which he guess'd at by the Lights and Noise, he went to the *Carmenale* Gate, where there was greatest silence, and where the Hill of the Capitol is steepest, and rises with craggy and broken Stones. By this Way he got up, tho' with much difficulty, by reason of the abruptness of the Passage, and presented himself to the Guards, saluting them, and telling them his Name, he was taken in, and carried to the Commanders. And a Senate being immediately called, he related to them in order the Victory of *Camillus*, which they had not heard of before, and told them the Proceedings of the Soldiers, advising them to confirm the Command to *Camillus*, as in whose
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Conduct alone the whole Army abroad relied. Having heard and consulted of the matter, the Senate declared *Camillus* Dictator, and sent back *Pontius* the same way that he came; who, with the same Success, got through the Enemy, without being discovered, and delivered to the *Romans* the Election of the Senate, who received it with great Acclamations of Joy, and *Camillus* coming to them, found twenty thousand of them ready in Arms; with which Forces, and those Confederates he brought along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to set upon the Enemy.

But at *Rome* some of the *Barbarians* passing by chance that way by which *Pontius* by Night had got into the Capitol, spied in several places the print of his Feet and Hands, where he had made his way up the Rock, and the Moss that grew to the Rock tore off and broken, and reported it to the King; who coming in Person and viewing it, for the present said nothing. But in the Evening, picking out such of the *Gauls* as were nimblest of Body, and by living in the Mountains were accustomed to climb, he thus spake unto them: *The Enemy themselves have shown us a way how to come at them, which we knew not of before; and have taught us, that nothing is so difficult and impossible, but that Men may overcome it. It would be a great shame for us who command, having begun well, to fail in the end; and to give over a Place as impregnable, when the Enemy himself chalks us out the way by which it may be taken: for in the same place where it was easy for one Man to get up, it will not be hard for Many, one after another; nay, when Many shall undertake it, their mutual assistance of one another will be a great addition of strength and firmness. Rewards and Honours shall be bestow'd on every Man, according as he shall acquit himself in the Action.* When the King had thus spoken,

spoken, the *Gauls* chearfully undertook to perform it; and, in the dead of Night, a good Party of them with a great silence began to climb the Rock, catching hold of the craggy Stones, and drawing their Bodies into the broken Places, which, tho' hard and untoward in itself, yet upon tryal prov'd not half so difficult as they had expected it. So that the foremost of them having gained the top of all, and put themselves into order, they were not far from surprising the Out-works, and mastering the Watch, who were fast asleep, for neither Man nor Dog perceived their coming. But there were sacred Geese kept near the Temple of *Juno*, (1) which at other times were plentifully fed; but

(1) This Circumstance seems to Me too trifling, and beneath the Dignity of History. Was it worth the Reader's while to be told that till then the Geese used to be very well fed, but that in those days of Distress they had very short Commons? Did *Plutarch* meet with this Particularity in some Historian, whose Works we have lost? I much doubt it. And as it is plain that in every thing else he had *Livy* before his Eyes, we may reasonably imagine he is here mis-led by a Passage in that Historian, which he did not rightly understand, as it has already happened to him twice in this very Life of *Camillus*. This is the Passage: *Anseres non fefellere, quibus, sacris Funoni, in summâ inopia cibi, tamen abstinebatur*. Is there in these Words the least Ground for the Sense *Plutarch* has put upon them? But the Case is This. *Plutarch*, who, as I have already observed, had not a perfect Knowledge of the Roman

Language, has misunderstood this Passage. He has joined *Cibi* with *abstinebatur*, instead of *inopia*; and being deceiv'd with the Resemblance this Latin Phrase, *cibi abstinebatur*, bears to That in Greek *πεῖδεσθαι σίτην*, he has taken it in the same Sense, and has made it signify to be sparing of, or husband the Allowance; whereas *Livy* saith that in that great Scarcity of Provisions the Romans spared those Geese, and abstained from eating them. It may be alledged in Justification of *Plutarch* that he inserted this Particularity as a Reason why the Geese came to be so watchful at that time; but That was needless, for it is well known that those Creatures, tho' never so well fed, are always watchful. They who will not be satisfied with this Conjecture must at least agree with Me, that *Livy's* Reflection is more natural, and that *Plutarch* had done better if with Him he had said that the Romans, notwithstanding the Extremity to which

but at this time, by reason that Corn and all other Provisions were grown scarce, their allowance was shortned, and they themselves in a poor and lean condition. This Creature is by nature of quick sense, and apprehensive of the least noise; so that being besides watchful thro' hunger, and restless, they immediately discovered the coming of the *Gauls*; and running up and down, with their noise and cackling they raised the whole Camp. The *Barbarians* on the other side perceiving themselves discovered, no longer endeavoured to conceal their attempt, but with great shouting and violence set themselves to the assault. The *Romans* every one in haste snatching up the next Weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this sudden Occasion. *Manlius*, a man of Consular Dignity, of strong Body and stout Heart, was the first that made head against them, and engaging with two of the Enc-

which they were reduced, always spared those Geese, because they were sacred to Juno. A considerable time after I had made this Observation, continues Mr. *Dacier*, I communicated it to one of the most learned, as well as most ingenious Men of this Age, and who would have been esteemed as such in the most flourishing Days of *Rome* and *Athens*. He did me the Honour to tell me in a Letter that it might possibly be that *Plutarch* had not in his Thoughts that Passage in *Livy*, but followed a particular View of his Own; that *Livy's* Reflection was the Reflection of a Man bred up in the School of *Roman* Policy, and well vers'd in a Constitution where Religion was one of the constituent Parts; and that *Plutarch's* was the Reflection of a Philosopher, who makes it his Bu-

siness to search into the natural Causes of Things; which led him to observe that the Reason why the Geese were at that time awake so early in the Morning was because they had of late been more sparingly fed than usual. He adds, that he should rather have chosen to have been the Author of *Livy's* Reflection than *Plutarch's*. This is a very judicious Observation. However I am persuaded that if *Plutarch* himself was to make his Choice he would chuse to lye under the Reproach of having misunderstood a Passage in *Latin*, rather than That which the extraordinary Person before mentioned Charges upon him, of having made an injudicious Choice in preferring his own Reflection to That of *Livy*, notwithstanding it is so full of good Sense, and includes in it a very solid and important Doctrine.

my at once, with his Sword cut off the right Arm of One just as he was lifting up his Pole-ax to strike; and running his Target full in the Face of the Other, tumbled him headlong down the steep Rock: then mounting the Rampart, and there standing with Others that came strait to his assistance, he drove down the rest of them, there having not many got up; and those that had, doing nothing brave or gallant. The *Romans* having thus escaped this danger, early in the morning took the Captain of the Watch, and flung him down the Rock upon the head of their Enemies; and to *Manlius* for his Victory, they voted a Reward which carried more Honour than Advantage with it, which was, that they contributed to him as much as every Man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of Bread, and about half a pint of Wine. Henceforwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were daily in a worse condition; they wanted Provisions, being kept in from foraging thro' fear of *Camillus*; besides that Sickness came upon them, occasioned by the number of Carcases that lay unburied in heaps. Moreover, being lodged among the Ruins, the Ashes, which were very deep, blown about with the Wind, and mingled with the sultry Heat, caused a dry and pestilent Air, which drawn in, infected their Bodies. But the chief cause was the change of their natural Climate, coming out of shady and hilly Countries, which afforded pleasant retirements and shelter from the heat, they found they were now got into low and champian Grounds, naturally unheathful in the Autumn Season. Another thing which broke their Spirits, was the length and tediousness of the Siege (for they had now sat six entire Months before the Capitol) insomuch that there was vast desolation among them; and the number of the dead grown so great, that the Living scarce sufficed to bury Them. Neither were things

things any better with the Besieg'd, for Famine encreased upon them; and not knowing what *Camillus* did, they remained in a languishing and desponding condition; for it was impossible to send any to him, the City was so narrowly guarded by the *Barbarians*. Things being in this sad condition on both sides, Propositions for an accommodation were made by some of the Fore-guards, as they happened to discourse with one another; which being afterwards embraced by the better sort, *Sulpicius*, Tribune of the *Romans*, came to parley with *Brennus*; where it was agreed, that the *Romans* laying down a thousand weight of Gold, the *Gauls* upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the City and its Territories. The agreement being confirmed by Oath on both sides, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* used false dealing in the Weights, first privily, afterwards openly, pulling back the ballance and violently turning it: at which the *Romans* being moved, and complaining, *Brennus* in a scoffing and insulting manner, pull'd off his Sword and Belt, and threw them both into the Scales; and when *Sulpicius* asked, what that meant, What should it mean (says he) but *Wo to the Conquered!* which afterwards became a proverbial Saying. As for the *Romans*, Some were so incensed, that they were for taking their Gold back again, and returning, with resolution to endure the uttermost extremities of the Siege. Others were for passing by and dissembling a petty injury, and not to account that the Indignity of the thing lay in paying more than was due, but the paying any thing at all; to which the necessity of the times had made them yield. Whilst this difference was amongst themselves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* was at the Gates; and having learned what had passed, he commanded the Body of his Forces to follow slowly after him in good order, and himself with the choicest of his Men

hastened to the place of treaty, where the *Romans* giving way to him, and receiving him as Dictator, with profound silence and order, he took the Gold out of the Scales, and delivered it to his Officers, and commanded the *Gauls* to take their Weights and Scales and depart, saying, that *it was customary with the Romans to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold.* And when *Brennus* began to rage and say, that he had injury done him in breaking the Contract; *Camillus* answered, that it was never legally made, and the agreement of no force or obligation, for that Himself being declared Dictator, and there being no other Magistrate by Law, he had contracted with Those who had no Power to contract: But now they must apply to Him if they had any Demands to make, for he was come as absolute Lord by Law, to grant Pardon to Such as should ask it, or inflict Punishment on Those who had been Authors of these disturbances, if they did not repent. At this *Brennus* flew out into rage, and it came to a present quarrel; both sides drawing their Swords, and vigorously assaulting each other, were mixed in Confusion together, which could not otherwise be amongst the ruins of Houses and narrow Lanes, and such Places where it was impossible to draw up in any order. But *Brennus* presently recollecting himself, called off his Men, and with the loss of a few only, brought them to their Camp; and rising in the night with all his Forces, left the City; and going on about eight Miles, encamped upon the way that leads to *Gabii*. As soon as Day appeared, *Camillus* came up with him, himself well arm'd, and his Soldiers full of courage and confidence: and there engaging with him in a sharp Fight, and which lasted a long while, he overthrew his Army with great slaughter, and took their Camp. Of Those that fled, Some were cut off by the Pursuers: Others, of whom
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was the greatest number, being scattered here and there, the People of the Villages and neighbouring Cities came running out and dispatched them. Thus *Rome* was strangely taken, and more strangely recovered; having been eleven whole months in the possession of the *Barbarians*, who entered her about the fifteenth day of *July*, and were driven out about the fourteenth of *February* following. *Camillus* Triumphed, as he deserved, having saved his Country that was lost; and brought the City back again to itself. For They that had lived abroad, together with their Wives and Children, accompanied him in his Triumph; and They who had been shut up in the Capitol, and were reduced almost to the point of perishing with hunger, went out to meet them, imbracing each other, and weeping for joy; and thro' the excess of the present pleasure, scarce believing the truth of their Deliverance. But when the Priests and Ministers of the Gods appeared, bearing those sacred Relicks, which in their flight from *Rome* they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly shewed that they were preserved, it yielded a most joyful and desirable spectacle to the Citizens, who took it, as if with Them the Gods themselves were again returned unto *Rome*. After *Camillus* had sacrificed to the Gods, and purged the City, the Priests leading the Procession, and performing the customary Ceremonies, he restor'd the present Temples, and erected a new one to the God, called the *Speaker* or *Caller*, chusing the very same Place in which that Voice from Heaven came by night to *Marcus Cedicius*, foretelling the coming of the *Barbarian* Army. It was a business of great difficulty, and an exceeding hard task, amidst so much Rubbish, to discover and set out the consecrated places; but by the unwearied diligence of *Camillus*, and the incessant labour of the Priests, it was at last accomplished. But when the

business came to the rebuilding the City, which was wholly demolished, an heartless despondency seized the Multitude, and a backwardness to the work, because they wanted all necessary materials, and had more need of some refreshment and rest from their labours, than to toil and wear out themselves already broken both in Body and Fortunes. Thus by leisure they turned their thoughts again towards *Veii*, a City ready built, and excellently provided of all things; which gave occasion to Many who sought to be popular, by following and nourishing the Humour to raise new Tumults: and many seditious Words were flung out against *Camillus*; That out of Ambition and Self-glory he withheld them from a City fit to receive them, forcing them to live in the midst of Ruins, and to raise such a pile from the Rubbish, that he might be esteemed not the chief Magistrate only and General of *Rome*, but (setting *Romulus* aside) the Founder also. The Senate therefore, fearing a Sedition, would not suffer *Camillus*, tho' desirous, to lay down his Authority within the Year, tho' no other Dictator had ever held it above six Months.

Besides, They endeavoured by kind Persuasions and familiar Addresses to appease and sweeten the Minds of the People, and chear up their Spirits. Sometimes they would lead them to the Monuments and Tombs of their Ancestors, often calling to their remembrance the sacred Oratories and holy Places which *Romulus* and *Numa*, or any other of their Kings, had consecrated and left unto them; but among the chief of their holy Relicks, they set before them that fresh and raw (1) Head which was found

(1) This Prodigy happen'd in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. As they were digging, they found a humane Head warm, and bleeding, as if just sever'd from the Body; upon which they sent to consult with the *Tuscan* Soothsayers. The Reader may find in the 4th Book of

found in laying the foundation of the Capitol, as a Place destin'd by Fate to be the Head of all *Italy*. What a shame would it be to them, by forsaking the City, to lose and extinguish that holy Fire, which, since the War, was re-kindled by the *Vestal Virgins*; to see the City itself either inhabited by Foreigners and Strangers, or left a wild Pasture for Cattel to graze on? Such reasons as these, mixt with Complaints and Intreaties, They used with the People; sometimes in private, taking them singly one by one; and sometimes in their publick Assemblies. But still They were afresh assaulted by the outcries of the Multitude, protesting and bewailing their present wants and inability; beseeching them, that seeing they were just met together, as from a Shipwreck, naked and destitute, they would not constrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruined and shatter'd City; when they had another at hand ready built and prepar'd. *Camillus* thought good to refer it to the Senate; and he himself (1) discoursed largely and earnestly in behalf of his Country, as likewise did many others. At last, calling to *Lucius Lucretius*, whose Place was first to speak, he commanded him to give his Sentence, and the rest as they followed in order. Silence being made, and *Lucretius* just about to begin, by chance a Captain without, passing by the Senate-House, and leading his Company off the Day-guard, called out with a loud Voice to the Ensign-bearer, to *stay* and *fix his Standard*; for *that was the best Place to stay in*.

of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, the many Tricks and Shifts made use of by the Soothsayer to gull the *Romans*, and to attribute That to *Tuscany*, which related purely to *Rome*; as if it was in the Power of a Wizard by subtlety and artifice to change or invert the Order of Providence. It is a Piece of

History that has something singular in it as it is there related, and is very well worth reading.

(1) The Reader may find the Speech he made upon this Occasion at large in *Livy, lib. 5. cap. 51*. It is a Master-piece of Eloquence.

This Voice coming in that nick of time, was taken as a direction what was to be done; so that *Lucretius* embracing the Omen, and adoring the Gods, gave his Sentence for staying, as likewise did all the rest that followed. Even among the common People it wrought a wonderful change of affection, every one heartning and encouraging his Neighbour, and setting himself chearfully to the work; proceeding not in any regular lines or proportions, but every one pitching upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or best pleased his Fancy; by which haste and hurry in building, they raised the City with narrow and intricate Lanes, and Houses huddled together one upon the back of another: For it is said, that within the compass of the year, the whole City was raised up a-new, both in its publick Walls, and private Buildings. But the Persons appointed by *Camillus* to recover and set out the consecrated Places, in that great confusion of all things, searching about the *Palatium*, and coming to that Place which is called *Mars's Close*, they found it entirely destroyed by the *Barbarians*; it happened, that whilst they were clearing the Place, and carrying away the rubbish, they lit upon *Romulus* his *magick Staff*, buried under great and deep heaps of Ashes. This Staff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make use of this *Lituus* in quartering out the Regions of the Heavens, when they are upon that sort of Divination which is made by the flight of Birds; which *Romulus* himself also made use of, being most excellently skilled in Augury.

But when he disappeared from among Men, the Priests took the Staff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now when they found that, whereas all other things were consumed, this Staff was not in the least injured by the flames, they began to conceive joyful hopes concerning

concerning *Rome*, that this Token did portend the everlasting Safety and Prosperity of it.

And now they had scarce got a breathing time from their troubles, but a new War comes upon them: the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Latins* all at once invade their Territories; and the *Tuscan*s besiege *Sutrium* a confederate City of the *Romans*. The *Military Tribunes*, who commanded the Army, and were encamped about the Hill *Marcus*, being closely besieged by the *Latins*, and the Camp in danger to be lost, send to *Rome*, and *Camillus* is a third time chosen Dictator. About this War there are two different Relations; I shall begin with the fabulous: They say that the *Latins* (whether out of pretence, or real design to re-unite the antient Blood of both Nations) should send to desire of the *Romans* some of their free Maids in Marriage: That the *Romans* being at a loss what to determine, (for on one hand they dreaded a War, having scarce settled and recovered themselves; on the other side, they suspected that this asking of Wives was in plain terms nothing else but to gain Hostages, tho' they covered it over with the specious name of Marriage and Alliance) a certain Handmaid, by name *Tutula*, or as some call her *Philotis*, should persuade the Magistrates to send with her some of the most youthful and beautiful Slaves in the garb and dress of noble Virgins, and leave the rest to her care and management; that the Magistrates, if they approved what she proposed, should chuse out as many as she thought necessary for her Purpose, and adorning them with Gold and rich Clothes, deliver them to the *Latins*, who encamped nigh the City: That at night, when the other Slaves had stolen away the Enemies Swords, *Tutula* or *Philotis* (which you please) getting to the top of a wild Fig-tree, and spreading out a thick Garment behind her, to conceal

conceal the design from the *Latins*, should hold out a Torch towards *Rome*, which was the signal agreed on between her and the Commanders, none other of the Citizens knowing the meaning of it; which was the reason that the issuing out of the Soldiers was tumultuous, the Officers pushing their Men on, and they calling to their Fellow-Soldiers to come on, with much Difficulty brought themselves into any order: That setting upon the Enemies Works, who either were asleep or expected no such matter, they took the Camp, and destroyed most of them: and that this was done in the Nones of *July*, which was then called *Quintilis*; and that the Feast observed at that time, is in remembrance of this Action: for first running out of the City in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the most familiar and usual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby that calling to one another when they issued out in such haste. In the next place the Maid-Servants richly adorned run about playing and jesting upon all they meet, and amongst themselves use a kind of skirmishing, to shew they helped in the conflict against the *Latins*. In the time of their feasting, they sit shaded over with Boughs of wild Fig-tree, and the Day they call *Nonæ Capratinæ*, as Some think, from that wild Fig-tree, on which the Maiden held out her Torch, for the *Romans* call a wild Fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer most of what is said or done at this Feast, to what happened to *Romulus*; for on this day, without the Gate of the City, he vanished out of sight, a sudden darkness, together with tempest, overclouding him (Some think it an Eclipse of the Sun) and that the day was called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, (for they call a Goat *Capra*) because *Romulus* disappeared at a Place called *Palus Capræ*, or *Goats-Marsh*, whilst he was holding there an Assembly

of the People, as in his Life it is written. But the general stream of Writers prefer the other account of this War, which they thus relate. *Camillus* being the third time chosen Dictator, and learning that the Army under the *Tribunes* was besieged by the *Latins* and *Volsci*, he was constrained to arm, not only the Youth, but even such as Age had exempted from service; and taking a large compass round the Mountain *Martius*, undiscovered by the Enemy, he lodged his Army on their back, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The besieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and join Battel; but the *Latins* and *Volsci*, fearing their Enemy on both sides, drew themselves within their Works, which they fortified with many Trees laid cross-wise, and drove into the ground, and so round their Camp drew a Wall of Wood; resolving to wait for more supplies from home, and expect the assistance of the *Tuscans* their Confederates. *Camillus* perceiving their drift, and fearing to be reduced to the same straits he had brought them to, namely, to be besieged himself, resolved to lose no time; and finding their Rampart was all of Timber, and observing that a strong wind constantly at Sun-rising blew off from the Mountains, after having prepared much combustible stuff, about break of Day he drew forth his Forces; some of which he commanded to take their Darts, and with noise and shouting assault the Enemy on the opposite quarter, whilst he with Those that were to fling in the Fire, went to that side of the Enemy's Camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the skirmish was begun, and the Sun risen, and a violent wind fell down from the Mountains, he gave the signal of onset; and pouring in an infinite quantity of fiery matter, he filled all their Rampart with it, so that the flame being

being fed in the close Timber and wooden Pallisadoes, it went on and dispersed itself into all Quarters. The *Latins* having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguish it, the Camp being almost full of Fire, were reduced to a very small compass, and at last forced by necessity to fall into their Enemies hand, who stood before the Works ready armed and prepared to receive them; of these a very few escaped, but those that stayed in the Camp were all consumed by the Fire; and then the *Romans*, to gain the Pillage, extinguished it. These things perform'd, *Camillus*, leaving his Son *Lucius* in the Camp to guard the Prisoners and secure the Booty, pass'd into his Enemies Country; where having taken the City of the *Æqui*, and reduced the *Volsci* to obedience, he immediately led his Army to *Sutrium* (having not heard what had befallen the *Sutrians*) making haste to assist them, as if they were still in danger, and besieg'd by the *Tuscans*. But they had already surrendred their City to their Enemies; and being destitute of all things, with their Garments only about them, they met *Camillus* on the way, leading their Wives and Children, and bewailing their misfortune. *Camillus* himself was struck with the object, and perceiving the *Romans* to weep, and grievously resent their Case, (the *Sutrians* hanging on them) resolved not to defer revenge, but that very day to lead his Army to *Sutrium*: Conjecturing that the Enemy, having just taken a rich and plentiful City, and not left an Enemy within it, nor expecting any from without, he should find them wallowing in all Riot and Luxury, open and unguarded. Neither did this opinion fail him, for he not only pass'd thro' their Country without discovery, but came up to their very Gates, and possess'd himself of the Walls; there not being a Man left to guard them, they being all got into houses in different parts

parts of the Town, drinking and making merry upon the Occasion: nay, when at last they did perceive that the Enemy had seized the City, they were so overcharged with eating and drinking, that few were able so much as to endeavour an escape; but in the most shameful posture, either waited for their Death within Doors, or if they were able to stagger out of their Houses, immediately surrendered themselves to the will of the Conqueror. Thus the City of the *Sutrians* was twice taken in one day; and it came to pass, that They who were in possession, lost it, and They who had lost their possession gained it again, by the means of *Camillus*; for all which Actions he received a Triumph, which brought him no less honour and reputation than both the former: for those very Citizens, who before most envied and detracted from him, ascribing his Successes to a certain hit of Fortune rather than steady Virtue, were now compelled by these last Acts of his to attribute Them to the great abilities and indefatigable application of the man.

Of all his Adversaries, and Enviars of his Glory, *Marcus Manlius* was the most considerable; He who gave the first repulse to the *Gauls*, and drove them out that Night they set upon the Capitol, for which he was surnamed *Capitolinus*. This Man affecting the first Place in the Commonwealth, and not able by honourable ways to out-do *Camillus's* Reputation, took the trite and usual methods of Such as aim at a tyrannical Government, viz. by practising upon the weakness of the populace, especially of such as were in debt; Some he would defend against their Creditors by pleading their Causes, Others he would rescue by force, not suffering the Law to proceed against them: insomuch that in a short time he had gotten great numbers of indigent People about him; who making tumults and uproars in the Courts,
struck

struck great terror into the principal Citizens. In this Exigence they created (1) *Quintus Capitolinus* Dictator, who in the first exercise of his Authority committed *Manlius* to prison, which the People took so much to heart, that they changed their Apparel thereupon, and put themselves into Mourning; a thing never done but in great and publick Calamities. The Senate fearing some tumult, ordered him to be released; Who set at liberty was never the better, but rather more insolent in his practices, filling the whole City with his Faction and Sedition. Wherefore they chose *Camillus* again *Military Tribune*; and a day being set for *Manlius* to answer to his charge, the prospect of the Place was a great hindrance to his Accusers: for the very Place where *Manlius* by Night fought with the *Gauls*, overlook'd the Court from the Capitol; so that stretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his past Actions, raising compassion in all that beheld him. Insomuch that the Judges were at a loss what to do, and several times forced to adjourn the Tryal, not willing to acquit him of the Crime, proved by manifest Circumstances, and yet unable to execute the Law, that noble Action of his being always in their Eyes by reason of the Place. *Camillus* considering this, removed the Judgment Seat out of the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove, from whence there is no prospect of the Capitol. Here his Accuser went on with his Charge, and the Judges being now at liberty to consider of his late Practices, he receiv'd a just recompence and reward of his wicked Actions; for being found guilty, he was carried to the Capitol,

(1) Either *Plutarch* is mistaken or the Text is maim'd. It should be *they chose Cornelius Cossus Dictator, who named Quintus Capito-*

linus Master of the Horse. Liv. lib. 6. cap. 12. This was the 3d Year of the 99th Olympiad, and in the Year of Rome 371.

and (1) flung headlong from the Rock, having the same Place both a witness of his greatest Glory, and a monument of his most unfortunate End. The *Romans* besides razed his House, and built there a Temple to the Goddess they call *Moneta*; ordaining for the future that (2) none of the Patrician Order should ever dwell in the Capitol.

And now *Camillus* being called to the sixth *Tribuneship*, desired to be excused, as being aged, and perhaps fearful of the malice of Fortune, and of the Envy which usually attends great and prosperous Actions. But the most apparent pretence was the weakness of his Body, for he happened at that time to be sick; but the People would admit of no excuses, crying that they wanted not his Strength for Horse or for Foot-service, but only his Counsel and Conduct. These reasons prevailed upon him to undertake the Command, and with one of his fellow *Tribunes* to lead the Army immediately against the Enemy. These were the *Prænestines* and *Volsci*, who with great Forces wasted the Countries of Those who were in alliance with the *Romans*. Having march'd out his Army, he sat down and encamped

(1) This is a most remarkable Example whereby we are taught, that an irregular Ambition is capable not only of sinking in Oblivion a long Course of great Actions and Services, but even of rendring them unacceptable, and odious. There was not perhaps at that time in all *Rome*, a Person more illustrious than *Manlius*. He produced thirty Spoils of Enemies, which he had slain with his own Hands. Forty honorary Rewards, which had been conferr'd on him by his Generals, among which were two mural, and eight civic Crowns. He produced several Citizens whom he

had saved from the Hands of the Enemy, and among them *C. Servilius*, Master of the Horse; all which were crown'd with that signal Service to his Country, the Preservation of the Capitol, which alone might have obtain'd his Pardon for a greater Crime than that laid to his Charge, from a People less jealous of their Liberty than the *Romans*.

(2) *Livy* adds to This, that it was decreed by all his Family, that none of their Descendants should ever after be called *Marcus Manlius*.

near the Enemy, meaning himself to draw out the War in length, or if there should be necessity or occasion of fighting, in the mean time to prepare his army for it by military Exercise. But *Lucius* his Collegue, carried away with the desire of Glory, was not to be held in; but impatient to give Battel, inflamed with the same eagerness the Captains and Colonels of the Army: so that *Camillus* fearing he might seem out of envy to rob the young Officers of the Glory of a notable Exploit, gave way, tho' unwillingly, that he should draw out the Forces, whilst himself, by reason of weakness, staid behind with a few in the Camp. *Lucius* engaging rashly was soon discomfited, when *Camillus* perceiving the *Romans* to give Ground and fly, he could not contain himself, but leaping from his bed, with those Servants and Retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the Gates of the Camp: and making his way thro' Them that fled, he drove furiously to oppose the Pursuers; insomuch that Those who were within the Camp presently turned back and followed him, and Those that had fled out of it, made Head again, and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forsake their General. Thus the Enemy for that time was stop'd in his pursuit.

* Livy saith
it was the
same Day.

But * the next Day *Camillus* drawing out his Forces and joining Battel with them, overthrew them by main force, and following close upon Them that fled, he entered Pell-mell with them into their Camp, and took it, slaying the greatest part of them. Afterwards having heard that *Sutricum* was taken by the *Tuscan*s, and the Inhabitants, all *Romans*, put to the Sword, the main Body of his Forces, and heaviest arm'd, he sent home to *Rome*, and taking with him the lightest and best-appointed Soldiers, he set suddenly upon the *Tuscan*s, who were in the Possession of the City, and having master'd them, Some he drove out, Others he flew. And so returning to
Rome

Rome with great Spoils, he gave a signal Evidence of the good Sense of the *Roman* People, who not mistrusting the Weakness and Age of a Commander endued with Courage and Conduct, had rather chosen him who was sickly, and desirous to be excused, than younger Men who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore when the Revolt of the *Tusculans* was reported, they gave *Camillus* the charge of reducing them, and the liberty of chusing which of his five Collegues he pleased to go with him. And now when every one of them put in earnestly for the Place, contrary to the expectation of All, he pass'd by the rest, and chose *Lucius Furius*, the very same Man, who but just before, against the judgment of *Camillus*, by rashly hazarding a Battel, had brought things to a dangerous and most desperate Condition; willing, as it should seem, by the preference of Him, to relieve him from the shame of it. The *Tusculans* hearing of *Camillus's* coming against them, sought cunningly to turn off the suspicion of their Revolt. Their Fields, as in times of highest Peace, were full of Plowmen and Shepherds; their Gates stood wide open, and their Children went publickly to School: as for the People, such as were Tradesmen, he found them in their Shops, busied about their several Employments; and the better sort of Citizens walking in the publick Places, (1) in their usual Gowns and Formalities: The Magistrates were diligent and officious in running about and providing Quarters for the *Romans*, as if they stood in fear of no danger, and as tho' they had committed no fault at all.

(1) The Gown was the constant wear of the *Romans* in the time of Peace, as the Mantle, or *Pallium* was of the *Grecians*, which they both quitted in War, so that to say of the One, that they were in their Gown, or of the Other that they were in their Mantle, imply'd they were in a profound Peace.

Which Arts, tho' they could not alter the Opinion *Camillus* had of their Treachery, yet wrought in him such a compassion for them as Penitents, that he commanded them to go to the Senate and atone their anger, and Himself became Intercessor in their behalf: insomuch that their City was acquitted of all Offences, and admitted to the freedom and privileges of *Rome*. These were the most memorable Actions of his sixth *Tribuneship*.

After these things *Licinius Stolo* raised a great Sedition in the City, by which the People fell to dissension with the Senate, earnestly contending that of two Consuls one should be chosen out of the Commons, and not both out of the Nobility. *Tribunes of the People* were chosen, but the multitude violently opposed the election of Consuls. Things thro' this dissension running into great disorder, *Camillus* was a fourth time created Dictator by the Senate, sore against the will of the People; neither was he himself very forward to accept it, as being unwilling to oppose his Authority against Those, who in many and great conflicts had reposed singular trust and confidence in him, and with whom he had done more things in military Affairs, than ever he had transacted with the Nobility in Civil: that now he was pitch'd upon out of envy, that prevailing he might suppress the People; or failing, be suppress'd himself. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the present; knowing the day on which the *Tribunes of the People* intended to prefer the Law, at the same time he proclaim'd a general Muster, and called the People from the Market-place, where the Assembly for chusing Magistrates was usually held, into the Field, threatening to set heavy Fines upon such as should not readily obey. On the other side, the *Tribunes of the People* opposed themselves to his Threats, solemnly protesting to fine him in 50000 Drachmas of Silver, if

if he persisted to hinder the People in giving their Suffrages for the Law. Wherefore, either that he feared another Banishment or Condemnation, as not agreeable to his Age, and misbecoming those great Actions he had performed, or finding himself not able to stem the Current of the Multitude, which ran with a strong and irresistible force, for the present he betook himself to his House, and afterwards for some days together pretending Indisposition of Body, laid down his Dictatorship, and the Senate created another Dictator; who chusing *Stolo*, leader of this Sedition, to be *General of the Horse*, suffered that Law to take place, which was most grievous to the Nobility, namely, that no Person whatsoever should possess above 500 Acres of Land. *Stolo* exceedingly triumph'd in the Conquest he had gained, till not long after he was found himself to possess more than he allowed to Others, and so suffered the Penalties of his own Law. And now the Contention about Election of Consuls coming on (which of all other Diffensions was the sharpest, and from its first beginning had administred most Matter of Division between the Senate and the People) certain Intelligence arrives, that the *Gauls* again proceeding from the *Adriatick* Sea, marched directly towards *Rome*, and upon the very Heels of the Report manifest Acts of Hostility were related; viz. that the Country thro' which they marched was all wasted, and such as by Flight could not make their escape to *Rome*, dispersed and scattered among the Mountains. The Terror of this War quieted the Sedition, so that the Nobility conferring with the Commons, and both joining Counsels unanimously, chose *Camillus* the fifth time Dictator, who, tho' very antient, as not wanting much of fourscore Years, yet considering the Danger and Necessity of his Country, did not, as before, pretend Sickness or other Excuse, but readily undertook the Charge,

and lifted his Soldiers: And knowing that the force of the *Barbarians* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about them in a rude and unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the Head and Shoulders; he caused Iron Murrions to be made for most of his Men, smoothing and polishing the outside, that the Enemies Swords lighting upon them, might either slide off, or be broken; and round about their Shields he drew a little rim of Brass, the Wood itself being not sufficient to bear off the Blows. Besides, he taught his Soldiers in close engaging to use long Javelins, or punchion Staves, which holding under their Enemies Swords, would receive the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* drew nigh about the River *Anien*, dragging a heavy Camp after them, and loaden with infinite Spoil, *Camillus* drew forth his Forces, and planted himself upon a Hill of easy ascent, and which had many hollow places in it, to the end that the greatest part of his Army might be concealed, and those few which appeared might be thought thro' Fear to have betaken themselves to those upper Grounds. And the more to encrease this Opinion in them, he suffer'd them without any disturbance to spoil and pillage even to his very Trenches, keeping himself quiet within his Works, which were well fortified on all sides: At last, perceiving that part of the Enemy were scattered about the Country a foraging, and having advice that Those that were in the Camp did nothing day and night but drink and revel, in the night-time he drew forth his lightest-arm'd Men, and sent them before to observe and watch the Enemy, and to be ready to hinder them from drawing into Order, and to vex and discompose them when they should first issue out of their Trenches; and early in the Morning he brought down his main Body, and set them in Battel-array in the lower Grounds, being a numerous Body and full of Courage;

rage; whereas the *Barbarians* had taken them for a small party of men that were afraid of them. The first thing that abated the Pride and Courage of the *Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they least expected it, and that their Enemies had the Honour of being Aggressors. In the next place, the light-arm'd Men falling upon them before they could get into their usual Order, or range themselves in their proper Squadrons, did so force and press upon them, that they were obliged to fight confusedly and at random, without any Discipline at all. But at last, when *Camillus* brought on his heavy-arm'd Legions, the *Barbarians* with their Swords drawn, went vigorously to engage them; but the *Romans* opposing with their Javelins, and receiving the force of their Blows on that part of their Shield which was well guarded with Brass, they turned the Edge of their Weapons, being made of a soft and ill-tempered Metal, insomuch that their Swords immediately bent in their Hands, and stood crooked to the Hilt: as for their Bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown so heavy with the Javelins that stuck upon them, that forced to quit their own Weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of those of their Enemies; so that gathering up the Javelins in their hands, they began to return them upon the *Romans*. But the *Romans* perceiving them naked and unarm'd, presently betook themselves to their Swords, which they so well used, that in a little time great Slaughter was made in the foremost Ranks, and the rest of them fled, dispersing themselves all over the *Champion Country*; for as for the Hills and upper Grounds, *Camillus* had before-hand possess'd himself of them, and they would not fly towards their Camp, because they knew there would be no great difficulty in taking it, seeing thro' Confidence of Victory they had left it unguarded. They say this Fight

was thirteen years after the sacking of *Rome*, and that from henceforward the *Romans* took Courage, and laid aside those dismal Apprehensions they had conceived of the *Barbarians*; thinking now that their first Defeat was rather the effect of Sickness, and the strange concurrence of evil Chances, than the steady Courage or true Force of their Enemy. And indeed this Fear had been formerly so great, that they made a Law, *That Priests should be excused from Warlike Service, unless in an Invasion from the Gauls.* As to *Military Affairs*, this was the last Action in which *Camillus* was concerned; for as for the City of the *Velitani*, That fell in as a part of this Victory, it being surrendered unto him without any resistance. As to *Civil Affairs*, the greatest and hardest dispute to be managed was with the People, which was still remaining; for they returning home full of Victory and Success, violently insisted, contrary to the antient Custom, to have one of the Consuls chosen out of their own Body. The Senate strongly opposed it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorship, thinking that under the shelter of his great Name and Authority they might with more probability of success defend the Rights of the *Patricians*; but when *Camillus* was sitting upon the Tribunal, dispatching publick Affairs, an Officer sent by the *Tribunes of the People* commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his Hand upon him, as ready to seize and carry him away; upon which such a noise and tumult followed in the Assembly, the like was never heard of before: Some that were about *Camillus* thrusting the People from the Tribunal, and the multitude below calling out to pull him down. Being at a loss what to do in this exigency of Affairs, he laid not down his Authority, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-House; but before he entred, turning towards the Capitol,

Capitol, he besought the Gods that they would bring these Troubles to a happy conclusion, solemnly vowing, when the Tumult was ended, to build a Temple to *Concord*. A great Contest arising in the Senate, by reason of contrary Opinions, at last the most moderate and most agreeable to the People prevailed, which was that of two Consuls, One of them should be chosen out of the Commonalty. When the Dictator had proclaim'd this Determination of the Senate to the People, they were immediately (as it could not otherwise be) pleased and reconciled with the Senate; and for *Camillus*, they accompanied him home, with all the Expressions and Acclamations of Joy: and the next Day being assembled together, they voted a Temple of *Concord* to be built according to *Camillus* his Vow, facing the Assembly and Market-place; and to those Feasts which are called *Latin*, they added one Day more, making them four Festivals in all; and for the present they ordained, that the whole People of *Rome* should sacrifice with Garlands on their Heads. In the Election of Consuls held by *Camillus*, *M. Emilius* was chosen of the Nobility, and *Lucius Sextius* the first of the Commonalty; and this was the last of all *Camillus*'s Actions. In the Year following, a pestilential Sickness infected *Rome*, which, besides an infinite number of the common sort, swept away most of the Magistrates, among Whom was *Camillus*. Whose Death cannot be called immature, if we consider his great Age, or greater Actions; yet was he more lamented than all the rest put together, who then died of that Distemper.



The Comparison of Themistocles with Camillus.

IT will be easy to discover, from what has been said relating to the Lives of *Themistocles* and *Camillus*, that there is a strong Resemblance between those two great Men in many Particulars. They were Both descended from Families unknown before, or at least not render'd illustrious by any notable Exploits, till They appeared the First in the Lists to raise them out of their original Obscurity, and by their own personal Merit and Virtue reflect to their Ancestors that Honour and Distinction, which they never deriv'd from them. They were engaged in many important Disputes with Strangers, and in many more with their Fellow-Citizens. They Both suffer'd from the Ingratitude of those very Citizens, Whom they had so signally serv'd; and Both the One and the Other wrested their Country out of the Hands of *Barbarians*.

The very Times in which they liv'd nearly resembled each Other. The same Storms and Tempests that distress'd the One, shook the Other, and produced in Both the same Spirits and Resolutions to contend with those Storms and Tempests, and to conduct in Safety the People committed to their Care and Protection. To this Conformity of the Times, wherein they severally liv'd, was owing that Conformity which appear'd in their Exploits and Fortunes; for the Circumstances of Both required that Wisdom shou'd have the greatest share in all their Performances, and preside over their innate Courage and Bravery. And yet in the Face of this general Resemblance, a near View will discover many things, wherein they do as remarkably differ.

We

We are therefore to place those Resemblances in a proper Light, and by reducing the whole Object into a narrow Compass discriminate the Difference, and Agreement, that may be found between them.

In the first place, *Camillus* seems to have the Preference of *Themistocles*, on account of his Performances. He gain'd more Victories, conquered more Towns, recovered More from the Enemies, reliev'd an Army that was besieg'd, preserv'd his Collegue that had engaged the Enemy unseasonably, and put a glorious End to many Wars that in their own Nature were of a dangerous Tendency. To these renown'd Exploits, nothing can be oppos'd in Behalf of *Themistocles*, but his having put an End to the Wars in Greece, his Victories over the *Persians* in the several Engagements at *Artemisium*, and the total Defeat of them in the Straits of *Salamine*.

As for the First of these Exploits, *Camillus* did not do more Service to the *Romans* by his Courage in terminating so many Wars, and triumphing so often over the Enemies of his Country, than *Themistocles* did to Greece by his Wisdom in suppressing her intestine Divisions, reconciling her Cities, and uniting the Citizens in one and the same Interest. For tho' nothing may be thought more feasible than to put a stop to domestick Disputes at the Approach of a common Enemy, which will force the contending Parties to form themselves under one Banner, yet what *Themistocles* did on this Occasion may be said to be the Effect of a consummate Prudence, when he prevented those Cities, which were in a Rivalship with *Athens*, from taking the Benefit of the great King's Assistance towards the reducing *Athens* and with Her all Greece into a state of Subjection. And indeed the Importance of the Service, and the Imminency of the Danger, appear'd soon after of *Themistocles*.

Themistocles his Actions at *Artemisium*, will bear no Comparison with *Camillus* his Encounters with the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and the *Latins*; for in all those Actions *Camillus* was undoubted Conqueror, whereas what *Themistocles* did at *Artemisium* serv'd only to let the *Grecians* know, that notwithstanding the dreadful Number of their Ships, the *Barbarians* were to be conquered; and those Actions, properly speaking, were no other than the Preludes of a future Victory.

But if we are to form a Judgment of Mens Actions, rather from their Importance than Numbers, the single Battel at *Salamine* was of more Weight than all the Exploits of *Camillus* put together, whether we consider the Situation the *Athenians* were in at that time, or the amazing Power of the Enemy, who whilst he cover'd the Bosom of the Ocean with his Ships, had a most formidable Army at Land, or whether we are not rather to form our Judgment from the great Multitudes who ow'd their Safety to that Victory. *Camillus*, it is true, preserved *Rome*; but *Themistocles*, in saving *Athens*, was the Preserver of *Greece*, who without Him must have sunk into a deplorable Servitude. And certainly that Action, whose Benefits are extended to Many, must be more glorious than That whose Fruits are confin'd only to a Few.

It may be said that *Camillus* ow'd all his Success to Himself only, whereas *Themistocles* shared the Honour of his Victory with the General of the *Lacedæmonians*. It is true, *Eurybiades* fought in the Streights of *Salamine* with great Courage and Resolution; but without the Intervention of *Themistocles* his Prudence, that Courage would have been unprofitable, nay probably it wou'd not have been put to the Tryal. So far is that General from lessening the Glory of *Themistocles*, that it rather serves to illustrate it; for at the same time that *Themistocles* saved

saved *Greece*, he had the Pleasure of saving that General likewise, and all his Forces. If on that Occasion *Themistocles* gave manifest Proofs of a consummate Prudence, whether it was in bringing the *Greeks* under a necessity of fighting in the Streights, or in chusing the most favourable time for the Attack; he at the same time gave amazing Instances of an invincible Patience, the sure sign of a great Mind, and of a Moderation, which had nothing in view but the Good of the Publick. He resign'd the Command to *Eurybiades* at a very critical Conjunction, when Emulation and Obstinacy, which might have pass'd upon the Vulgar for Courage and Magnanimity, would undoubtedly have ruin'd the Affairs of the *Grecians*. For it is certain he would never have overthrown his Enemies by his Courage, if he had not first got the better of his Allies by his Condescension. And I question if *Camillus* can shew any thing of this sort equal to it, or to that Greatness of Mind when *Themistocles* bore with Patience the extravagant Sallies of *Eurybiades*, that he might have time to lay before him coolly his Sentiments and Advice. That Man must be well acquainted with the way to true Glory, who could march on without stumbling in a Road so intricate, where he was to suffer Insults with Patience, and swallow Affronts.

If it be in the Actions of Men as it is in Tragedies, where the shortest Moments artfully managed, produce the most surprising Events, and raise our Admiration up to the highest Pitch by the Terror and Compassion they inspire us with, there is nothing in the Life of *Themistocles* comparable to the miraculous Incidents which abound in That of *Camillus*. They are not Adventures govern'd and conducted by human Force or Reason, but inextricable Difficulties unravell'd, as it were, by the Intervention of a Deity. It is certain that in *Themistocles*, the intricate
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cate Part of the Plot is well prepared. *Xerxes* like a Torrent sweeps away the Inhabitants and Cities of *Greece*; the Oracle commands the *Athenians* to inclose themselves within Walls of Wood; upon This they embark, having first sent away their Wives and Children, and the antient Men, into the neighbouring Islands; and now is the *Barbarian* Master of *Athens*; from whence is their Deliverer to come? who shall defend a People already vanquish'd, and whose last hopes are placed in their Fleet, which consists of no more than one hundred and eighty Gallies, with which they are to encounter a Navy of Twelve hundred Sail? *Themistocles* his Courage, Resolution, and good Sense give a new Life to the *Athenians*, and the Event is fortunate; but this Catastrophe has nothing in it of the Wonderful and Surprising; All is Simple, All is Uniform: whereas in *Camillus* every thing is equally miraculous; *Rome* in ashes; the victorious *Gaul* Master of it; he incamps amidst its Ruins; lays close Siege to the Capitol, which is defended only by a handful of Men; and They, reduced to the last Extremity, ready to redeem their Country, the sad Remains of hostile Flames, and *Rome* is weighing in the Balance against the Gold of the *Barbarians*. In the very Nick arrives *Camillus*, and effects her Deliverance not with Gold but by the Sword. This Air of the Wonderful breathes in almost every one of his Actions, whether he is relieving an Army besieged on a Mountain; defeating an Enemy the Moment after their Victory; leading Citizens back into the City the very day in which they had been driven out of it; or retaining within their Duty Towns in the very Instant of revolt. But as these Moments of surprise are the Effects of Chance, or the Sports of Fortune, and seem fitter for the Entertainment of a Reader whose Mind is most taken with marvellous Events, than to form in us a right Judgment of the Actions, and teach

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us wherein one Man excels Another, let us leave these Things to the Painters, and the Poets, to be by Them display'd on the Stage, and in their Paintings, whilst We confine our Consideration to such Things as relate more peculiarly to *Themistocles* and *Camillus*, and which they owe only to Themselves; and thereby be enabled to make an exact estimate of their Virtues, and their Vices.

They had Both the same Thirst after Glory, Both exerted the same Courage and Conduct upon Occasion. But it is neither Courage, Conduct, or Cunning by which Men are to be judged, because They are Qualities which they may be said to have in common with many other Animals. That which infinitely dignifies human Nature, and raiseth her in some degree up to the supreme Being, is that provident Foresight, in which *Themistocles* had exceedingly the Advantage over *Camillus*. He cou'd see no farther than just before him, whereas *Themistocles* saw afar off, and had an Eye that could penetrate even into the Womb of Events. At the time when the *Persians*, overthrown at *Marathon*, were frightened back into the very Heart of *Asia*, He foretold their Return, and prepared his Fellow-Citizens for new Conflicts with those *Barbarians*. It is true, as *Cicero* has observed, that this Foresight fail'd him upon some of the most important Occasions in his whole Life; for he neither cou'd foresee what he had to expect from the *Lacedæmonians*, what would befall him on the part of his own Countrymen, nor the Consequences of his mighty Promises to *Artaxerxes*. But what Man is there that is infallible?

It may be said of *Camillus* that He likewise foresaw that the Division of the *Romans*, and the suffering a Part of them to go and dwell at *Veii* would infallibly prove the Ruin of the State, for which Reason he opposed it with great Firmness and Resolution; but in this important Service of *Camillus*

lus to his Country we see the many Tokens of a profound Wisdom and Prudence, but nothing of that Foresight in *Themistocles*, which looks like something Prophetical. This Action of *Camillus* has undoubtedly a great Resemblance with That of *Themistocles* when he prevented those Cities, which had not appeared in Arms against *Xerxes*, from being expelled out of the Council of the *Amphictyons*, as was insisted on by the *Lacedæmonians*, who would by that means have engrossed all the Authority, and made themselves Masters of Greece.

But if *Themistocles* was preferable to *Camillus* on the score of Foresight, *Camillus* no less excelled *Themistocles* on the account of Justice, a Quality infinitely superior to the Former. In all the Exploits of *Themistocles* one may discover Courage joined with Cunning, whereas every thing in *Camillus* is sincere and open. *Themistocles* never performed any thing that might not be overmatch'd by the single Submission of *Falerii*, of which *Camillus* made himself Master by the high Veneration the Besieged had conceived of him for his Justice in sending back to them the School-Master, who had betray'd their Children into his Hands; for to know that even in War itself there are some Laws of such a nature as no good Man will violate, and that Justice ought to be prefer'd to Victory, is an Action more heroick than the Conquest of the Universe.

As for their Conduct in time of Peace, we shall find there was no small Difference between them in that respect. *Themistocles* was a great Stickler for the People, and every thing he did during his Administration tended to secure the Populace against the Incroachments and Ambition of the Nobility; whereas *Camillus*, tho' he kept fair with the People, yet his Inclinations were for the Senate and Patricians.

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Themistocles oppressed all Those who were most capable of serving the Republick, and got *Aristides* to be banish'd, tho' he was the most virtuous Man of the Age; whereas *Camillus* was so much a Stranger to that Spirit of Envy and Intreague, that he always pick'd out the best of the Citizens to be his Colleagues, such as knew how to be most serviceable to their Country, and made it appear that a Man might communicate his Authority to Others, without giving them a Share in his Glory.

The *Athenians* had been accustomed to lay out in Games and Shews all the Revenue arising out of their Mines in *Attica*. *Themistocles* had the Courage to abolish this improvident Custom, and caused the Money to be employ'd in building of Ships, which prov'd afterwards the Preservation of the State. There is nothing in the Life of *Camillus* that will stand in Competition with that important Service, unless we put into the Balance his prudent Regulations during his Censorship, wherein he obliged the young men to espouse the Widows of Those who had been slain in the Wars, and made Orphans liable to the Taxes. But these Laws seem to be the Dictates of War, whereas *Themistocles's* Decree proceeds solely from his Prudence.

The Severity with which *Camillus* treated *Manlius*, who was thrown headlong from the Capitol was very just, and commendable, if it flowed purely from his love of Liberty and regard to the Constitution; and if the Indignation he had conceived against that Criminal was not a little aggravated by an inward Jealousy of a Rival renowned for many notable Actions, who could produce thirty Spoils taken from Enemies slain by his own Hands, Forty honorary Rewards confer'd on him by the Generals under whom he had serv'd, among which were Two *mural* and Eight *civic* Crowns, and who, in short, having repuls'd the *Gauls* when
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they were scaling the Capitol, had confer'd on him for that important Service the glorious Name of *Capitolinus*. But *Themistocles* gave as high an Instance of his Zeal for Liberty when he condemn'd a *Greek* to Death for having explained to the *Athenians* the dishonourable Terms the King of *Persia* offered to them by his Ambassadors, and for having the Impudence to make the Language of the *Greeks* serve to interpret to them the imperious Will of a *Barbarian*. Nor is he less to be commended for his Severity to *Arthmius* of *Zelee*, whom he got to be declared an Enemy of the *Grecians* and their Allies, and had Himself and Posterity branded with Infamy for having imported the Gold of the *Medes*, not into *Athens*, but into *Peloponnesus*. I know not if this Example of Severity against Corruption was not more necessary and useful to *Greece* in that Conjunction and Situation of her Affairs, than was the Punishment of *Manlius* at that time to *Rome*; for the *Persians* were in those days more to be redoubted for their Gold than their Courage; which made *Demosthenes* affirm that this single Action made the *Grecians* become more formidable to the *Barbarians*, than the *Barbarians* had ever been to the *Grecians*.

There is another Circumstance which rendered *Themistocles's* Administration very remarkable; for when the *Barbarians* had laid *Athens* in Ashes, he did not only rebuild it, as *Camillus* did *Rome*, but he fortified it, and joined it by a Wall to the *Piræus*. But there are two things to be considered in this Enterprize, the Effect it produced, and the Manner wherein it was executed. The Effect was no better than creating in their Allies a Jealousy of their Power, and prompting the Populace to be more stubborn and mutinous in strengthening them against the Nobility; and the Manner in which it was executed could contribute but little to his Honour,

nour, since it was gained with Fraud, Subtilty and Injustice; and there is no Action with these Marks upon it can be allowable, tho' it may be profitable. For this Reason *Demosthenes*, in comparing these Walls of *Themistocles* with Those built afterwards by *Conon*, gives the Preference to the Last: for, as much as an Action performed openly is preferable to One effected clandestinely and by Fraud, and Victory more glorious than Circumvention and Surprize; so much are the Walls of *Conon* to be prefer'd to Those of *Themistocles*: For *Conon* erected His after he had quell'd his Enemies, and all Those that could have obstructed him in his Design, whereas *Themistocles* built His by imposing upon his Allies. No Reproach like This ever sully'd One of the Actions of *Camillus*, where Openness and Simplicity, the essential Marks of a truly great and noble Mind, constantly shined in full Lustre.

We are not to excuse either in *Themistocles* or *Camillus* the Pride and Arrogance wherewith both the One and the Other insulted over their Fellow-Citizens, tho' it may be more excuseable in *Camillus* than *Themistocles*; for it did not appear in Him till his many Exploits and signal Services had given him some sort of Pretence to it; whereas That of *Themistocles* broke out at a time when he had not performed any thing considerable that could give him the least Colour for it. Besides, *Camillus* gave many Instances of a Modesty never sufficiently to be admired, when after he had defeated a Party of the *Gauls* near *Ardea*, he refused to take the Office of General upon him, which had been offered him by the *Romans* then at *Veii*; and in obedience to the Laws of a City, which was not then in Being, and was no better than a Heap of Ashes, waited till that Choice was confirmed by the Handful of *Romans* who were defending the Capitol, whom he considered as the only law-

ful Citizens, who had a right of conferring that Office upon him ; a Moderation almost without Example, far unlike that Ambition which was daily visible in *Themistocles*.

If for our better and more compleat Knowledge of Men we are not to consider them only in the Course of their Prosperities, but to turn the Tables, and view them when Fortune is at Variance with them, we shall in that case find a very great Difference between *Themistocles* and *Camillus*. One of them was banished without any apparent Reason ; unless it was a Judgment upon him for having done the same thing by *Aristides*, whom he drove into Exile purely out of Jealousie of his extraordinary Worth, and for no other Reason. The Other was banish'd for vigorously opposing a Design which tended to the absolute Ruin of his Country. *Themistocles* was banish'd after he had sav'd his Country, and *Camillus* preserved His after he had been banish'd. *Themistocles's* Exile was his Reward for having expelled the *Barbarians*, and the Arrival of the *Barbarians* was as a Punishment for the Exile of *Camillus*.

If these Causes and Conjunctions are very different, so was the Manner in which both the One, and the Other supported his Disgrace. *Camillus* in the first Heat flew out into Imprecations, which testified his Malice and Ill-will to *Rome* ; but one may at the same time discover some Tokens of the Affection he still retain'd for her even in the height of his Resentment : For he does not wish any Calamities to fall upon her, but that He may have the Pleasure of delivering her, and thereby secure to himself a glorious Revenge for her Injustice towards him, which is the Revenge of a Hero. We meet with nothing of This in *Themistocles*. He does not indeed curse his Country, but he goes and prostitutes himself to her Enemies. *Themistocles* in his

his Exile sullies the Glory of his former Exploits; he pays his Adoration to a *Barbarian*, and begs his Pardon for the Damage he had done him in the Service of his Country: whereas *Camillus* adds fresh Laurels to Those he had obtained before, and continued to the End of his Days to signalize himself with new Victories. He excels all other *Romans* before his Exile, and after it he excels Himself. The extravagant Promises of *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia* put him in the long run under a Necessity of killing himself; and there appears something so heroick in this Sentiment of preferring Death to the fatal Necessity either of revenging himself upon his Country, or of being unfaithful to his Benefactor, that I have in some sort applauded that Resolution, tho' I know very well that all wise Men will upon an impartial Judgment condemn it. This Violence committed on himself will without doubt be considered by Such not only as an undeniable Mark of Weakness, but a certain Sign that he knew not what scope to give to his Resentment against his Country, nor how much he was bound in Gratitude to his Benefactor; and that for fear of being wanting to Either he was equally wanting to Both; for in what he did he depriv'd One of a Subject, and the Other of a Friend to whom he ow'd his Service. Now no honest Man, especially a Man concerned in the Management of publick Affairs, ought to die purely for his own Sake, but for the Sake of his Friends, or his Country.

Camillus's Behaviour was of a quite different Nature; he had no occasion to pass the Seas in search of Enemies to *Rome*; he had them round about him; He went not to humble himself before them, and solicit them to take the Benefit of his Disgrace, and employ his Head and Hand against his ungrateful Country. He put in Practice that

excellent Doctrine, which *Plato* was at that time preaching up in the Schools at *Athens*, that an honest Man, however ill used by his Country, preserves always in his Heart a Mediator in her behalf, and seeks all Opportunities of bringing her to herself, and doing her Service. Accordingly this exalted Piety in *Camillus* was rewarded with a Felicity, which no Mortal ever obtained before. He was no sooner restored to his Country but he restored his Country with himself, and brought *Rome* back to *Rome*, which gave him a Right to share with *Romulus* in the Title of her Founder; and when he had thus preserv'd *Rome*, and restored her, he hindred her from falling again into the same Calamities out of which he had rais'd her; for when he was Fourscore and three Years old he once more defeated the *Gauls*, who were returned into *Italy* with an Army much more formidable than the former. Now all those glorious Exploits had been lost, if like *Themistocles* he had given way to his Resentment; so true is it that Anger is an imperious ungrateful Mistress, making an ungenerous Return for the Services she receives, and selling her pernicious Counsels at a most extravagant rate.

Having thus drawn a Parallel between these two great Men with regard to their Conduct in Peace and War, and their Behaviour under their Misfortunes, there remains nothing more but to consider them with relation to their Sentiments of Religion, in which there seems to be no great Difference between them. *Themistocles* implores the Assistance of the Gods in all his Undertakings. When he had obtained the Victory at *Artemisium* he consecrated a Trophy to *Diana*, under whose Inspection he had performed this first Exploit; and after That at *Salamine*, in Acknowledgement that prudent Counsels are as so many Inspirations sent from the Gods, he erected a Temple to the same Goddess

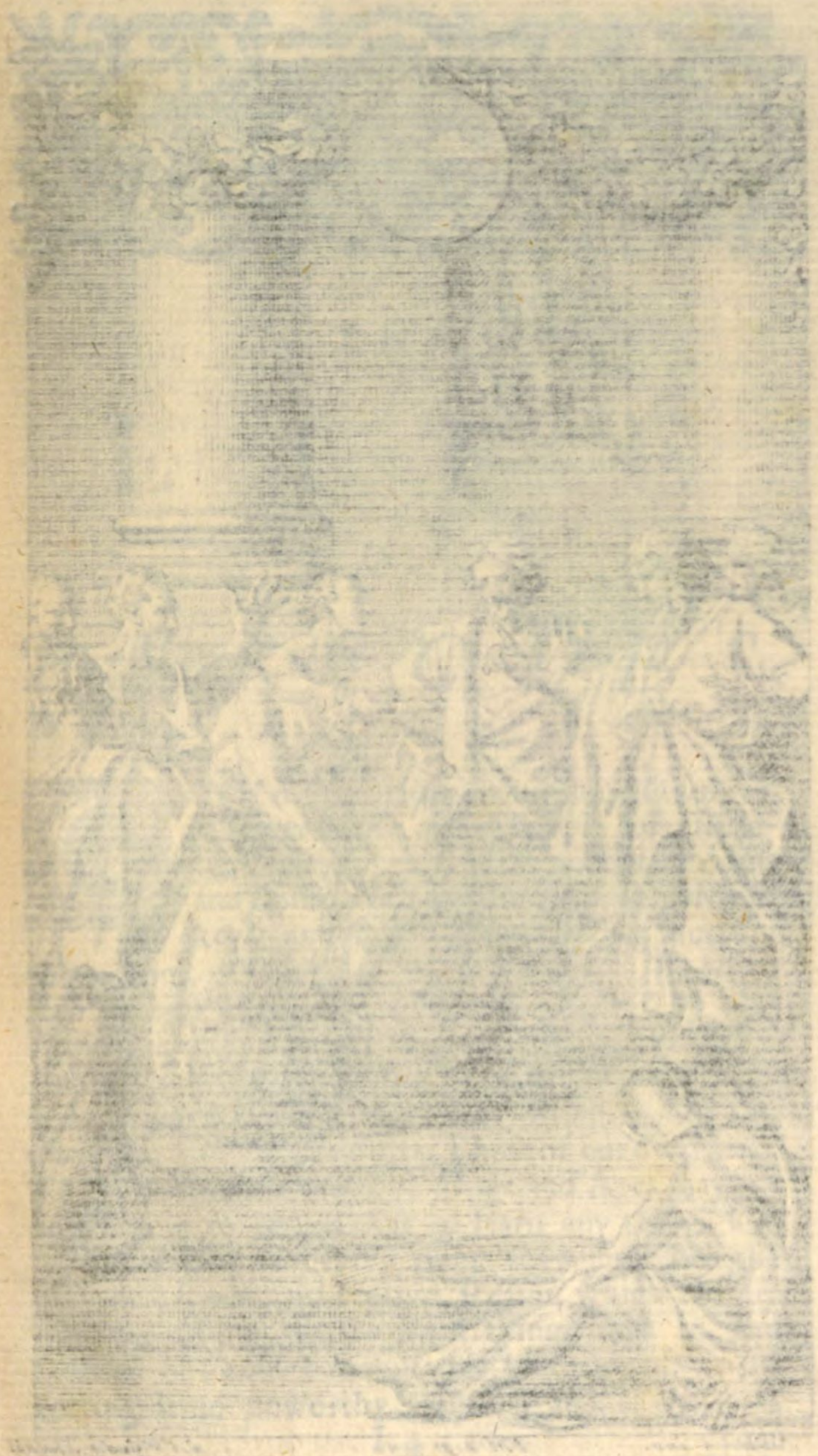
in return for the good Counsel he received from Her.

In this Article *Camillus* comes not in the least behind *Themistocles*. After the Conquest of *Veii* he rebuilt the Temple to the Goddess *Matuta*. He transports the Statue of *Juno* to *Rome*, and takes Care to have that Service performed with the most religious Ceremonies; He with much Labour and Perseverance finds out the Foundations of those Temples that had been destroyed by Fire, which he re-edified, and built Another to that God, who had foretold the coming of the *Gauls*. In short, he closed his Life with an Act of Religion, consecrating a Temple to *Concord*, in thanks to the Gods for the reunion of the People with the Senate. He will without doubt be reproached for having in Contempt of the Gods caused four white Horses to be harnessed to the Chariot in which he enter'd *Rome* on the Day of his Triumph, and for neglecting the solemn Vow he had made of consecrating to *Apollo* the Tenth of the Spoils taken at *Veii*. *Themistocles* also is to be condemned for making Religion a Cloak to his political Designs, when by the Aid of fictitious Portents and Miracles he brought the People to come into his Measures; but it appears to me equally unjust to accuse, or defend two Persons, whom the Gods themselves seem to have justified. For those all-powerful Beings have given both the One and the Other signal Marks of their good Will and Favour; they supported their Courage, and animated their Prudence on every Occasion, and favoured all their Enterprizes with Success and Glory; and what is still a stronger and more extraordinary Mark of their Protection, they revenged the Wrongs done to *Camillus* by sinking *Rome* under a Deluge of Calamities; and by Inspirations, Dreams and Oracles they twice preserved *Themistocles*

stocles from the Snares of his Enemies. Now tho' the Nature of the Gods, which is Goodness it self, and which being ready to forgive, and slow to punish, doth not always manifest their Judgments in this Life, will not suffer us to pass any certain Sentence upon Men from the Favours they have received from above, yet it may very justly be presumed that they would never have shewn such distinguishing Marks of their Love to two Persons, who had openly defy'd them by their Ingratitude and Impiety.



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Vol. 2: p. 135.

G. F. Gude Sculpit



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CÆSAR on a time seeing some Strangers at *Rome*, who were People of Distinction, carrying up and down in their Arms and Bosoms young Puppy-dogs and Monkeys, and hugging and making much of them, took occasion to ask, *Whether the Women in their Country were not used to bear Children?* by that Prince-like Reprimand gravely reflecting upon such Persons, who spend and lavish that natural Affection and Kindness upon brute Beasts, which is due and owing to Human Creatures, Those of our own kind. The Whelps and Cubs of Dogs and Apes may indeed shew an Inclination to learn any thing, and to take notice of every thing they see; but the Soul of Man has by Nature Reason which teaches him to distinguish between things, and to find fault with Those that abuse his Inclinations, by diverting it to unworthy Objects, and at the same
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time overlooking such as would be both reputable and profitable to them.

But the outward *Sense* being passive in receiving the Impression of those Objects that come in its way and strike upon it, it is peradventure necessary for it (*the Sense*) to entertain and take notice of every thing that appears to it, be it what it will, useful or unuseful ; whereas every Man, if he will make use of his *Understanding*, hath a natural Power to turn himself upon all occasions, and to change and shift with the greatest ease to what shall seem to himself most fit. So that a Man ought to pursue and make after the best and choicest of every thing, that he may not appear to be entirely guided by *Sense*, but to have made the best use of it.

For as the Eye is pleased most with a Colour whose lively freshness revives and cherishes the Sight, so the Mind of Man has certain Objects that by Delighting it do Invite it as to its proper Good, and upon These our Affections ought to be placed.

Now these Objects are to be met with in those Works and Performances which proceed from *Virtue*, which do infuse and beget in the Minds of Readers, whilst they converse with the bare Stories and Narratives of them, a kind of Emulation and Inclination towards them, which naturally draws them on to an Imitation. Whereas in things of another nature there doth not immediately follow, upon the admiration and liking of the thing done, any strong desire of doing the like. Nay, many times on the very contrary, when we are pleased with the Work, we slight and set little by the Workman or Artist himself ; as for instance, in Perfumes and Purple-dyes, we are taken with the things themselves well enough, but we look but meanly upon Dyers and Perfumers, as a sort of pitiful

tiful Tradesmen and sorry Mechanicks. Whereupon it was not amiss said by (1) *Antisthenes*, when People told him that one *Ismenias* was an excellent Fidler or Piper; *It may be so*, said he, *but he is but a wretched paultry Fellow for all That*; for otherwise he would not have been so excellent a Fidler; meaning that he would have found some better Business to have employed himself about than Fidling and Piping. And King *Philip* to the same purpose told his Son *Alexander*, who once at a merry Meeting had sung with great Pleasure and Skill, *Are not you ashamed, Son, to sing so well? For* (2) *it is enough for a King or Prince to find leisure sometimes to hear others sing; and he does the Muses no small honour, when he pleases to be but present at such Exercises and Tryals of Skill.* Now He who busies himself in mean Employments, doth but bring that pains he takes about things of little or no use, as an Evidence against himself of his Negligence and slothful Indisposition to virtuous and useful Practices. (3) And I take it for granted, that no ingenuous

(1) *Antisthenes* was one of *Socrates's* Disciples, and Founder of the Sect of *Cynics*. It was He who said that *Virtue is the strongest of Armour, and the only Armour of which no one can deprive us.* It is therefore no wonder if a Man of such Sentiments condemned *Ismenias* for having spent all his time, and apply'd himself wholly to learn how to play well on the Flute.

(2) This Decorum, which, according to *Plutarch*, ought to be observed by Princes, seems to have been well understood by the Poets, for you never find them introducing *Jupiter* singing or playing upon the Harp, but always taking Pleasure in hearing Others Sing or Play,

(3) This is a severe Assertion; No Man of Quality would desire to be a *Phidias*, or a *Polyclitus*, or to be the Carver of the Olympian *Jupiter*, or *Argive Juno*. One of which Statues was of Gold, the Other of Ivory, both esteemed inimitable Master-pieces, and as such their respective Sculptors were rever'd as Gods rather than Men. As for the first of these Statues it had the Honour to receive the Stamp of *Jupiter's* own Approbation in proof of its Perfection; for we are told that when *Phidias* had finished it, he besought the God to testify by some visible Signal that he approv'd of his Performance, and that at that very Instant a Thunderbolt fell at his

genuous well-born Youth, upon viewing the Statue of *Jupiter* which stands in the City of *Pisa*, would desire to be a *Phidias*, or That of *Juno* in the City of *Argos*, to be a *Polycletus*, (the Workmen of those Statues) or to be as good a Poet as *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilochus*, because he has been delighted in reading their Poems. For it doth not necessarily follow, that if a piece of Work please for its gracefulness, therefore He that wrought it deserves our esteem. Whence it is that neither do such things profit or advantage the Beholders, upon the sight whereof there doth not arise a Zeal which may put them upon Imitation, nor an Impulse or Inclination, which may move a desire and

his Feet before the Statue. This was an authentick Testimony for a Heathen. *Polycletus* was so esteemed that one single Figure of His was sold at an hundred Talents. *Diadumenum fecit molliter Juvenem, centum Talentis nobilitatum*, as we read it in *Pliny*. What Reason then has *Plutarch* to undervalue, as he does, such excellent Artists so universally admired? Nay, he goes farther; No one, saith He, would be *Anacreon*, who had been the Favourite of two excellent Princes; nor *Philemon*, who had been preferr'd to *Minander* himself; nor *Archilochus*, whose Style was so strong and vigorous. This is paying a mortifying sort of Compliment to such celebrated Arts. All that can be said on this Occasion is, That *Plutarch* does not effectually despise them, he allows them the Approbation that is fitting for them, and only makes them subordinate to something else more exalted, and perfect in its kind. They are in reality no better than dead Works, beneath the Ambition of a prudent

Man. Of This *Socrates* is an Instance. He had succeeded to Admiration in the Art of Sculpture, having made the Statues of the three Graces, which were highly esteemed by the *Athenians*. And yet he abandoned the Art, wherein he so much excelled, to devote himself entirely to the Study of Wisdom. *Plutarch* has before in the Life of *Theseus* shewn the Difference he conceives there is between a Governor who has the Forming, or Institution of a Prince, and the Painters, or Sculptors, who have drawn their Pictures or carved their Statues. In this Place he follows the Tract of his Master *Plato*, who in the 3d Book of his *Republick* does not call the Art of Painting, Carving, Poetry, &c. *Τεχνὰς Arts*, but gives them a sort of undervaluing diminutive Appellation, he calls them *Τεχνύσπια little Arts*, in Opposition to that Power, that Art of Wisdom, which only is conducive to the happy Conduct of Man, and the Government of States.

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raise an endeavour of doing the like. But 'tis Virtue alone, which doth immediately by the bare proposal of its Actions so dispose Men, that they do at once both admire the things done, and desire to imitate the Doers of them. For as to the Goods of *Fortune*, we are fond of the Possession and Enjoyment of them; but as to those of *Virtue*, we are in love with the Practice and Exercise of them; for which Reason we are content to receive Those from Others, but These we are ambitious Others should receive from Us. For an historical Relation of what is honest and virtuous has such a power over Man as to put him upon a proper Action, forming the Manners of Him that considers it, not as in a Play merely to imitate it, but to do it upon Choice and Inclination.

Wherefore we also have thought fit to spend our time in writing the *Lives* of famous Persons; and we have composed this *Tenth Book* upon that Subject, wherein are contain'd the Life of *Pericles* and That of *Fabius Maximus*, (who managed and carried on the War against *Hannibal*.) Men alike, as in their other Virtues and good Parts, so especially in their mild and upright Temper and Demenor, and in their being able to bear the cross-grain'd Humours and foolish Carriages of their Fellow-Citizens the Commoners, and their Fellow-Rulers, who shared with them in the Charge of the Government; by which means they became Both of them very useful and serviceable to the Interest of their Countries. Whether we take a right aim in our intended purpose, is left to the Reader to judge by those things he shall here find set down.

As to *Pericles*, he was of that Tribe or Ward in *Athens* called *Acamantis*, and of that Company or Society of People called *Cholagria*, and one of the chiefeft Families and Descents of the whole City

City both on his Father's and Mother's side. For *Xanthippus* his Father, He who defeated the King of *Persia's* Lieutenant-Generals in the Battel of *Mycale*, took to Wife (1) *Agariste*, the Neice of that *Cleisthenes* (2) who drove out the Race of *Pisistratus*, dissolved their Tyrannical Usurpation, made such good Laws, and settled such a Model of Government as was excellently well tempered and fitted for the Agreement and Safety of the People.

Agariste being near her time, fancied in a Dream that she was brought to Bed of a Lion, and within a few Days after she was delivered of *Pericles*; whose Body was well shaped, but his Head was too long, and disproportioned. For which Reason it was that almost all the Images and Statues that were made of him, have the Head covered with a Helmet: The Workmen probably not being willing to expose him by shewing his Deformity. But the Poets of *Athens* plaid upon him, and called him $\Sigma\chi\iota\nu\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\lambda\omicron$, *Schinocephalos*, that is, *Onion-pate*, or *Squill-pate*. For that which in common Language goes by the Name of $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ a *SQUILL*, or *Sea-Onion*, the *Atticks* do in their Dialect sometimes term $\Sigma\chi\iota\nu\omicron$, *Chinos*. And one of their Comick Poets, *Cratinus* in his Play called *Cheirones*, that is to say, *The Rascality*, or *The worser sort of People*, says thus of him:

(1) *Cleisthenes* King of *Sicyon* had an only Daughter, whom he married to *Megacles*, the Son of *Alcmaeon*. *Megacles* had two Sons by this Lady, the first of which had the same Name with his Grandfather, and the other was called *Hippocrates*. He married, and had a Son called *Megacles*, and a Daughter named *Agariste*, which was the Name of her Grandmother;

and this *Agariste* was the Mother of *Pericles*.

(2) He expelled the Descendants of *Pisistratus*, reunited the People who were before divided, ranking them under ten Tribes, whereas there were but four before, and established the Democracy, or Government by the People. *Hered. Lib. 5 and 6.*

(1) Old

(1) *Old time, with Faction mixt in vile Embrace,
Begot this greatest Tyrant of his Race;
To whom is given by the Gods above
The lofty Name of Head-Compelling Jove.*

And again in another Play of his called *Nemesis*,
or *The Revenge*, he in this manner bespeaks him:

*Yield us, thou Hospitable God, thy Aid;
Thou who art (2) happy in a monstrous Head.*

And *Telecides*, another of those Poets, saith in
mockery of him, that one while

*Puzzled with nice affairs of State and Town,
His Grout-head being overset hangs down.*

And that another while,

*Only from that long over-growing Pate
There doth arise much Trouble to the State.*

And *Eupolis*, a third Poet, in a Comedy of His
called *Demi*, that is, *The People of the Boroughs*,

(1) This is a very obscure piece of Raillery; The Poet alludes to several Passages in *Hesiod* and *Homer*, and the short account of them is this: Those Poets tell us *Jupiter* was the Son of *Old Time*. (*Chronos*, or *Saturn*, the Person is the same tho' the Name be different) and some body else: This *Jupiter* was stiled νεφεληγερέτης, *Cloud-gatherer*, or, as our excellent Mr. *Waller*, *Cloud-Compelling*. Now *Pericles* was called *Olympius* and *Jupiter*; and therefore this Poet says he was begotten by *Old Time* (or *Saturn*) upon *Faction*, and that the Gods called him κε-

φαληγερέτην, (this word is very near in sound to νεφεληγερέτην) *Head-Gatherer*, or *Head-Compelling*, because *Pericles* having a very long Head, seemed to have one Head set or added to another. This is the best I can make of this Passage.

(2) It is impossible to preserve in the Translation the Witicism which is clearly express'd in the Original, where the Poet makes use of but one Word μακάριε, which genuinely signifies *happy*, but *Cratinus* alludes to the Word κάρη a *Head*, and the augmentative Particle μά.

making

making enquiry concerning every one of the *Demagogues* or Leading-men, whom he makes in the Play to come up from Hell, as *Pericles* comes to be named last, he replies :

*Why in the Devil's name, 'mongst all the Dead
That lie below, hast brought us up the Head?*

The Master that taught him Musick, most Authors are agreed, was one *Damon*; (whose name they say ought to be pronounced with the first syllable short.) Tho' *Aristotle* tells us that he was thoroughly practised to Musick with one *Pythoclides*. And as to *Damon*, it is not unlikely, that he being a shrewd cunning Sophister as he was, did out of policy shelter himself under the name and profession of a Musick-Master, on purpose to conceal from the Vulgar his subtilty and skill in State-Affairs. So that under this pretence he attended as diligently upon *Pericles* in teaching him Politicks, as a Master of a *Gymnasium*, or School for Exercises, does upon young Scholars whom he is to instruct in the *Athleticks*. Yet for all that the People saw him thro' the Disguise of a Musician, and banished *Damon* the Country by Ostracism for ten Years, as an Intermedler in the Government, and one that favoured Arbitrary Power; and by that means gave the Stage occasion to play upon him. As for instance; (1) *Plato* one of their Comedians brought in a Person putting the Question to him (under the name of *Chiron*, who had been *Achilles's* Tutor likewise in Musick) in this manner;

*Tell me, thou mighty Chiron of the State,
Didst thou our great Achilles educate?*

meaning *Pericles*.

(1) A Comick Poet, the Author of two and thirty Comedies.

Pericles was moreover a Disciple occasionally of (1) *Zeno Eleates*, who discoursed and treated of natural Philosophy much after the manner as *Parmenides* did, except that he introduced a disputatious method of reasoning upon things, which he used himself to, by which he would draw his Adversaries into seeming Absurdities, let them take which Side of the Question they pleased. And accordingly *Timon the Phliasian* hath given the same account of him in this pair of Verses.

*Zeno's great Force, who spoke to either part,
Confuted all, and never fail'd in's Art.*

But He that was most conversant with *Pericles*, and furnished him most especially with a Weight and Grandeur of Sense, and a more grave and solid research of those Arts by which the Populace is to be managed, and contributed most to the Majesty and Grace of his Address and Deportment, was *Anaxagoras the Clazomenian*; whom the Men of those times called by the name of *Nēs, Nous*, that is, Mind or *Understanding*, whether in admiration of his great and extraordinary Skill and Knowledge, as it clearly appeared to be, in the Affairs of Nature, (2) or whether it were because that He

(1) This *Zeno* was of *Elea* a Town in *Italy*, and a *Phocæan* Colony. He was a Scholar of *Parmenides*, who moreover adopted him. Tho' his profound Learning had acquired him a great Reputation, yet he became more illustrious by his Courage and Resolution, for he conspired against the Tyrant of his Country, who caused him to be pounded to Death in a Mortar, and by his Death he accomplished what he had undertaken in his Life-time; for his Fellow-Citizens

were thereby so far incensed that they fell upon the Tyrant, and stoned him. We are not to confound this *Zeno* with Him of *Cittia*, who was Founder of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, and was much later than the former.

(2) Before *Anaxagoras's* time the Philosophers were extreamly perplexed, and knew not how to account for the Order and Disposition of the World, and what it was that drew it out of its primitive *Chaos*. Some founded their Principle

He was the first of the Philosophers, who did not commit the Government of the World to Fortune or *Chance*, nor to fatal *Necessity*, as the Cause of that Order we find things in; but set over it a pure and simple Being, endued with Understanding, which separated the similar from the dissimilar Parts, which before must have been jumbled together.

Besides the reputation *Pericles* had for Knowledge in Natural Philosophy, not only the greatness of his Spirit, and his lofty manner of speaking, which had none of the Meanesses or Scurriosity that are common among the Vulgar; but also the Sedateness of his Countenance not easily provoked to Laughter, the Gravity of his Face, and the direct ordering of his Dress, so as never to be discomposed by any thing that happened to him in speaking, the easiness of his Manner in delivering himself, and many things of the same kind, made him the admiration of all that knew him.

See but his patience and greatness of Mind! One time being reviled and ill-spoken of all day long in his own hearing by a villanous and ill-tongued Rascal that cared not what he said, he bore it patiently all along without returning him one Word; altho' he did it in the open Court or the Assembly of the People, where he was at the same time engaged in the Prosecution and Dispatch of some weighty urgent Affair. In the Evening he went

Principle on <i>Necessity</i>, that is, they conceiv'd that this Disposition of the Whole was purely owing to the Nature of the constituent Parts; the Heavier, according to their System, being under a <i>Necessity</i> of subsiding, and the Lighter of ascending. Others exploded this System, which indeed was very	erroneous, and had Recourse to <i>Chance</i>, or <i>Fortune</i>, which was still more absurd and erroneous. <i>Anaxagoras</i> was the first who made it appear that this Order and Disposition was the pure Effect of an Intelligent Being, infinitely superior to, and different from Matter.
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home

home as one unconcerned, this Fellow dogging him at the Heels, and pelting him all the way he went with abusive Language. As he was ready to go into his House, it being by this time dark, he ordered one of his Servants to take a light, and go along with the Man and see him safe home: Which was all the notice he took of him.

Now *Ion* the Poet saith, that *Pericles's* Converse and Carriage in Company was Haughty and Surly, and that the good opinion and high thoughts he had of himself was mixt with much Scorn and Contempt for others: And on the other hand he commends *Cimon's* exact Civility, and easy Compliance, and genteel well-fashioned Behaviour at every turn in all his Conversations. Well! but let us leave *Ion* to himself, who seems to take it for granted, that in describing Virtue as well as in writing Tragedy there is a Part where we must introduce Satires to cause Laughter: But as for Those who miscalled *Pericles's* Gravity by the name of an affected Ostentation and Grandeur of State, *Zeno* advised such Persons, That They also would try to affect the like garb of Greatness, in as much as the very counterfeiting and apeing of good Qualities doth in time, as by stealth, procure and beget an Inclination for them, and a familiarity with them.

Nor were These the only Advantages which *Pericles* had of *Anaxagoras's* Acquaintance and Conversation; He seemed also to be advanced by his Instructions far above all that Superstition, whatever it is, which as to Meteors and the like strange Appearances doth with frightful Apprehensions possess the Minds of People, who are ignorant of the true Causes by which such Effects are naturally produced, and are mad as if the Devil were in them, and in great agony and disorder upon occasion of these Divine Prodigies, by reason of their Ignorance and want of Skill about them: Which

Ignorance; Natural Philosophy discharging and freeing Men from, instead of a dreadful and unquiet troublesome Superstition, works in them a free and generous Devotion, together with good Hopes and kindly Assurances.

There is a Story, that on a time *Pericles* had brought him from a Country-Farm of his a Ram's Head with one Horn; and that *Lampon* a Diviner or Fortune-teller, upon seeing the Horn grow strong and firm out of the midst of the Fore-head, gave this for his Judgment, that there being at that time two potent Factions in the City, the One of *Thucydides* and the other of *Pericles*, the Government would come about to that One of them in whose Ground or Estate this Token or Indication of Fate had happened: But that *Anaxagoras*, when he had cleft the Skull in sunder, shewed to the Standers-by, that the Brain had not filled up its Pan or natural Place, but being sharp, of an Oval Figure, had rolled it self together, from all parts of the Vessel which contained it, in a point to that place, from whence the Root of the Horn took its rise; which was the reason it grew single. And that for that time *Anaxagoras* was much admired for the account he gave, by Those that were present at the Operation; and *Lampon* no less a little while after, when *Thucydides* being outed and laid aside, all Affairs of the State and Government came entirely into *Pericles's* Hands and Management.

And yet in my Opinion it is no Absurdity to say, that they were Both in the right, the natural Philosopher and the Fortune-teller; The One so luckily hitting upon the Cause of this Event, by which it was produced; the Other upon the End, for which it was designed. For it was the Business of the *one* to find out and give account in what manner, and by what means it grew as it did; and of the *other* to foretel to what End and Purpose it was

was so made, and what it might mean or portend. Now as to Those who say that to find out the Cause of such prodigious Events is in effect to destroy any Signification they may be supposed to have; these Men do not take notice, that at the same time, together with Divine Prodigies (the tokens of God's Pleasure or Displeasure) they defeat and render of no use those signs and marks which are contrived by Art; such as are, for instance, (1) the Clattering of Quoits, and the Lights of Watch-towers along the Seaside, and the shadows of the Pins of Sun-dials; every of which things is made by some Cause which has so contrived them as to make them become signs of some other thing: But These are subjects that peradventure would better besit some other Consideration than what we are now upon.

Now *Pericles*, being yet but a young Man, stood in great awe of the People, and was more afraid of giving them any Offence; because he was generally thought very much to resemble in his Visage the Tyrant *Pisistratus*; and the grave Seniors of the Town, who remembered that Man, had another reason for being jealous of him, when they found the same sweetness in his Voice, and the same readiness in speaking, which they had observed in the Tyrant. And therefore altho' he had a very fair Estate, and was descended of as noble a Family as Any, and had store of Friends who bore the greatest sway; he was so far from trusting to these

(1) This Clattering, or Clashing of Quoits, was sometimes among the *Grecians* what the Trumpet or Drum is among us, for they made use of brazen Quoits and Platters upon Occasion in their Armies, as the *Romans* did to call their Champions to their Exercises. This appears from a Pas-

sage in *Cicero's* Second Book *de Oratore*. *Et hoc ipso tempore, cum omnia Gymnasia Philosophi teneant, tamen eorum Auditores Discum audire quam Philosophum malunt. qui simul ut increpuit in media Oratione, de maximis rebus. & gravissimis disputantem Philosophum omnes unctionis causâ relinquunt.*

Advantages, that he apprehended they might procure him to be banished as a dangerous Person: And for this reason he meddled not at all with State-affairs, but in the Services of War he shew'd himself a brave Man, and one who with undaunted Courage would expose himself upon all Occasions.

But *Aristides* being dead, and *Themistocles* in Exile, and *Cimon* being for the most part kept abroad by Expeditions he made in Foreign Parts out of *Greece*; then did *Pericles*, seeing things in this posture, apply himself to the State; but instead of courting the rich and great Men, making choice of such Matters and Causes wherein the common People and poorer sort were concern'd, and siding with them; which was contrary to his natural Temper, for he was not of himself given to Popularity or mean Compliances. But, as it is very likely, fearing he might, by reason of those Advantages we mentioned, fall under a suspicion and jealousy of setting up for Kingship or Arbitrary Power; and seeing how *Cimon* courted the Aristocracy or chief Men of the Government, and was mightily beloved by Those who made the best Figure in Life, he took another way, and sheltered himself among the Crowd and Herd of the common People: By which means he did at once both secure himself, and procure an interest to serve him, when time should be, against *Cimon*.

And besides, immediately upon his Application to State Affairs, he took a quite different Course from what Others and himself had used, as to his Order of Life and Management of himself. For he was never seen to walk in any Street or Way at *Athens*, but only that which led to the Court or Town-Hall, where the People assembled, and to the Senate or Parliament-House, where the Lords sat in Council; and he avoided and left off the Invitations

vitations of Friends to Supper, and all such kind of friendly Treatment and neighbourly Acquaintance: So that in all the time he had to do with the Publick, which was not a little, he was never known to have gone to any of his Friends to a Supper; only once, and that was at a Wedding, when his near Kinsman *Eurypolemus*, his Sister's Son, married, he staid till the Ceremony of the Drink-offering, and then immediately rose from Table and went his way. For 'tis very difficult for a great Man to preserve the Dignity of his Character, if he condescends to the free and familiar way of Conversation. But where there is true and real merit, the more it is shewn the more it is esteemed, and the Men possessed of such Merit appear with greater lustre to Those who see them every day, than to Strangers. But *Pericles* not daring to trust to this Method avoided appearing in publick as much as possible, not pleading in every Case, nor coming into the Court of Judicature every time it was assembled; but (as *Critolaus* saith the *Athenians* did with (1) the three-oar'd Galley of *Salamis*) reserving himself for Important Cases, other matters of lesser Importance being dispatched by Friends, or by other Common Pleaders at the Bar. And of this number we are told *Ephialtes* made one, he who broke the Power of the *Areopagites*, the Council that sat on *Mars's* Hill; and by that means (according to *Plato's* Expression) gave the Citizens a large and racy draught of Liberty, which made the People so fierce and untractable, that as Those who writ Comedies at that time tell us, like a wild

(1) This was a consecrated Vessel, which the *Athenians* never made use of but on extraordinary occasions; as for instance, When they sent for any of their Generals in order to call them to Ac-

count for their Behaviour. So that *Plutarch's* Comparison of this Vessel with *Pericles*, who never appeared but on important Occasions, is very just.

unruly Horse, that had flung his Rider, they would be ruled no longer, but began to champ and bite *Eubæa*, and flounced and curvetted upon the other Isles.

Pericles designing to make the manner of his Writing and Speaking agreeable to his manner and way of Living, and to the greatness of his Spirit and Designs, as if he had been to tune a Musical Instrument, tried how he could set off those excellent Parts of Learning he had received from *Anaxagoras* with a proper Rhetorical Colouring, or a becoming Air. And by thus joining to a Natural Greatness of Mind (as the Divine *Plato* says) those sublime Thoughts he had acquired by the Study of Natural Philosophy, and expressing those Thoughts in a beautiful manner, he infinitely exceeded all the Orators of his own time.

Upon which account they say he had the surname of *Olympius* given him, (the same Title that *Jupiter* himself was called by) tho' Some are of Opinion he was so named from those famous Works and publick Buildings, wherewith he adorned the City: Others would have him so called from the great Power he had in Publick Affairs, whether of War or Peace. Nor is it unlikely or absurd to imagine, that from those many good Qualities which met together in the same Man, the glory of such a Title might be conferr'd upon him. However the Comedies of the then Masters of the Stage, who both in good earnest, and out of merriment too, let fly many shrewd words at him, do plainly shew that he got that Appellation especially upon the account of his being an able Speaker, by their saying that he thundered and lightned, when he harangued the People, and that he carried a dreadful Thunderbolt in his Tongue.

There is a Saying also of *Thucydides* the *Milesian*, which stands on record, spoken by him pleasantly enough

enough upon *Pericles's* artfulness in speaking. This *Thucydides* was a Person among them of great Credit and Repute, and one who had for a very long time bandied against *Pericles* in the Government. Now when *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* asked him, whether He or *Pericles* were the better Wrestler, he made this Answer: *When I, saith he, have thrown him and given him a fair Fall, He by standing out in the denial, saying that he had no Fall, gets the better of me, and persuades People into a belief of what he says, whether they will or no, tho' they saw the quite contrary.*

Howbeit, this is certain, that *Pericles* was very wary and careful what and how he was to speak, insomuch that always whenever he went up to the Tribunal or into the Pulpit to deliver himself, (1) he prayed to the Gods, that no one Word might unawares slip from him, which might be misbecoming or unsuitable to the matter in hand, and the occasion he was to speak to.

(2) Indeed he hath left nothing in Writing behind him, save only some Popular Decrees or Ordinances. And there are but few in all of his notable Sayings which are recorded; as This for one, *That the Isle of Ægina* (then possessed by the Enemy) *ought to be removed, as an Eye-sore to the Pyræum, a Port of Athens;* and This for another, *That he fan-*

(1) This Account is contrary to That which *Suidas* gives of him. He saith, that *Pericles* was the first that wrote down his Speeches before he spoke them in Publick, whilst the other Orators spoke extempore. Whereas this Prayer is proper only for a Man who speaks without any Preparation. We must not forget in this Place that *Quintilian* ascribes a more politick Prayer to *Pericles*; for he assures

us, that he besought the Gods to direct his Tongue that nothing might fall from it disagreeable to the People.

(2) By This it appears that those Speeches, which went under his Name, were none of His; and *Quintilian* declares he found nothing in them answerable to the high Reputation he was in for Eloquence. *lib. 3. c. 1.*

ced he saw a War coming along towards them out of Peloponnesus (now called the Morea.) Again, when on a time Sophocles, who was his Fellow-Commissioner in the Generalship, was going on board with him, and praised the Beauty of a Boy they met with in the way to the Ship, Sophocles, saith he, a General ought not only to have clean Hands, but Eyes too ; meaning that a Person in such an Office and Charge should not give way even to the Temptations of sight. And moreover Stesimbrotus hath this Passage of him, That as he was in a Funeral Oration speaking of Those who fell in the Battel at Samos, he said they were grown immortal, as the Gods were. For, said he, we do not see the Gods, but only by those Honours we pay them, and by those good things they receive from us, we declare our belief of their being Immortal : And the same honours paid to those who die in the defence of their Country do prove their Immortality.

Thucydides makes such a description of *Pericles's* Aristocratical Government, that it went by the Name of a Democracy, but was indeed a Government by a single Person, to wit, under the Conduct and at the Pleasure of one Man who was chief : And many others say that by Him the common People were first brought on and led to the sharing of Lands by Lot, taken from the Enemy, and to the dividing of publick Monies (formerly reserved for the uses of War) but now allowed them for seeing of Plays and Shows, and to Distributions of Salaries for publick Employments ; which had this ill Effect upon them, that from a sober, modest, thrifty People, that maintained themselves by their own Labours, they became riotous and debauched ; but let us look into the occasion of this change in the Government, so far as matter of Fact will direct us,

When

When he first entered upon a publick Employment, and was to set himself (as has been already said) against *Cimon's* great Authority, he did care for the People what he could, and underhand curry favour with them. But finding himself come short of his Competitor in Wealth, by which advantage the Other was inabled to take care of the poor, inviting every Day some one or other of the Citizens, that was in want, to supper, and bestowing Clothes on the aged People, and breaking down the hedges and inclosures of his own Grounds, to the intent that All that would might freely gather what Fruit they pleased: *Pericles* finding he had lost the good Graces of the Citizens by these Arts of his Rival, had Recourse to a Division of the publick Revenues among the People, by the advice of (1) *Demonides* of *Ios*, as *Aristotle* tells us; and in a short time having decoy'd and won the People, what with those Monies allowed for Shows and for Courts of Justice, and what with other Bribes and Largesses, he made use of their Interest against the Council of *Areopagus*, of which He himself was no Member, as having not been chosen by lot, either Annual Magistrate, or Guardian of the Laws, or King, that is, Governor of the sacred Rites, nor Chief-tain of the Wars. For of old these Offices were conferred on Persons by Lot, and They who had acquitted themselves well in the discharge of these Trusts were advanced and taken into the Court of *Areopagus*. Whereupon *Pericles* having gotten so great a Power and Interest with the Populace, he so weakned the Power of this Court, as that most

(1) *Ios* was one of the Islands called *Sporades* in the *Ægean Sea*, famous especially for *Homer's* Sepulchre. But some learned Men have thought fit to correct the Text in this Place, and instead of *inθev* of the Isle of *Ios*, will have it to be *οιαθev*, that is of the Burgh of *Oia*, which was a Burrough, or Division in *Attica*, where *Demonides* was born.

of those Causes which had been hitherto tried there, were by *Ephialtes's* Assistance no longer Cognisable in it, and *Cimon* was banished by Ostracism, upon pretence of his being a Favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, and a Hater of his own People of *Athens*; notwithstanding he was one who came behind none of them all for greatness of Estate and nobleness of Birth, and had won several famous and signal Victories upon the *Barbarians*, and with a great deal of Monies and other Spoils of War taken from them had mightily enriched the City; as in the History of his *Life* hath been set down. So vast an Authority had *Pericles* gotten among the People.

The *Ostracism*, or Banishment by Shells, (which they us'd in such Tryals) was limited by Law to Ten Years, during which Term the Person banished was not to return. But the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time making an Inroad with a great Army on the Country of *Tanagra*, (which lay upon the *Attick* Borders) and the *Athenians* going out against them with their Forces, *Cimon* coming from his Banishment before his time was out, put himself in Arms with Those of his Fellow-Citizens that were of his own Tribe, and resolved by his Deeds to wipe off that Aspersions of his favouring the *Lacedæmonians*. But *Pericles's* Friends gathering in a Body together, drove him away as One under the Sentence of Exile, and forc'd him to retire. For which cause also *Pericles* seems to have laid about him the more, behaving himself very valiantly in the Fight, and to have been the gallantest Man among them all in the Action of that Day, having exposed himself to all hazard and hardship. (1) All *Cimon's* Friends also to a Man fell in

(1) They were an hundred in Number, and before *Cimon* quit- ted the Field he recommended to them so to behave themselves that their

in that Battel, whom *Pericles* had impeach'd as well as Him of taking part with the *Lacedæmonians*. And now the *Athenians* heartily repented them for what they had done to *Cimon*, and long'd to have him home again, being in the close of this Fight beaten and worsted upon the Confines of their own Country, and expecting a sore War to come upon them next Spring or Summer-season. All which *Pericles* being sensible of, he made no delay in gratifying the Peoples desire ; but having wrote an Edict or Order for that purpose, himself recalled the Man home. And He upon his return concluded a Peace betwixt the two Cities ; for the *Lacedæmonians* had a respect and kindness for him, as on the contrary they hated *Pericles* and the rest of the Demagogues or Leading-men at that time.

Yet Some say, that *Pericles* did not write that Edict or Order for *Cimon's* Revocation and Return, till some private Articles of Agreement had been made between them, and that by means of *Elpinice*, *Cimon's* Sister. Which were, *That Cimon should go out to Sea with a Fleet of two hundred Ships, and be Commander in chief of all the Forces abroad, with a design to harrafs and lay waste the King of Persia's Countries and Dominions ; and that Pericles should have the Power at home, and govern in the City.*

But it was believed that before this time *Elpinice* had perswaded *Pericles* to be more favourable to *Cimon*, even from the time when he was tried for his Life, and came off with Banishment. For *Pericles* was one of the Committee appointed by the Commons to implead him. And when *Elpinice* made her Applications to him, and besought him in her

their Behaviour in the Action might serve to justify both Them and Him. The Reader may find in the *Life of Cimon* how punctually they obeyed his Orders, fighting as if He was present and an Eye-witness of their Actions.

Brother's

Brother's behalf, he with a smile in merriment said, O Elpinice, *you are too old a Woman to undertake such business as this is.* Moreover when he came to the Bar to impeach him, he stood up but once to speak, and then touch'd very gently upon his Crime; as soon as he had done he went out of Court, having done *Cimon* the least Prejudice of any of his Accusers.

How then can one believe (1) *Idomeneus*, who charges *Pericles* as if he had by treachery contriv'd and order'd the Murder of *Ephialtes* the Demagogue or Counsellor of State, one who was his Friend and of his Party in the ordering of the Government; out of a jealousy forsooth, says he, and an envy of his great Reputation. This Historian, it seems, having raked up these Stories I know not out of what Kennel, has thrown them up as if he had been discharging his Stomach at this worthy Man, One who perchance was not altogether free from Fault or Blame, but yet had a generous noble Spirit, and a Soul that affected and courted Honour: Qualities or Dispositions of Mind wholly inconsistent with any such cruel or brutal Passion. But as to *Ephialtes*, the truth of the Story, as *Aristotle* hath told it, is This, That having made himself formidable to the Nobility by being a severe asserter of the Peoples Rights, in calling to Account and prosecuting Those who any way injured them, his Enemies lying in wait for him, did, by the help of one *Aristodicus* a *Tanagrian*, privately Assassinate him.

Now *Cimon*, while he was Admiral, ended his Days in the Isle of *Cyprus*: And the Nobility seeing that *Pericles* was grown to be the greatest and foremost Man of the City, and thinking it proper there should be Somebody set up against him to

(1) *Idomeneus* of *Lampsacus*, a Disciple of *Epicurus*. He wrote an Account of *Socrates's* Scholars, and an History of *Samothracia*.

give him check, and to hinder his power from degenerating into a Monarchy; they set up in Opposition to him *Thucydides* of *Alopechia*, a sober discreet Person, and a near Kinsman of *Cimon's*, Who tho' less skilled in Warlike Affairs than *Cimon* was, yet was better versed in the Courts of Law and Business of State; and as he never stirred out of the City, but was always ready at hand to oppose *Pericles* in the Pleading-place where the publick Harangues were made, he quickly restored the Nobility to an Equal Share in the Government with the People. For he would not suffer the Nobility to be scatter'd up and down and jumbled in a huddle with the Populace as formerly, which had very much lessened their Credit and Interest: But taking them apart by themselves, and gathering into One the Power and Interest of them All, which was now grown considerable, he did as it were upon the balance make a Counterpoise to the other Party.

For indeed the Contest of the two Parties before Him was but a thing of secret grudge, that made but a shallow Impression, like a thing cut upon Iron, and rather shew'd a tendency to Division than any actual Division between the Nobility and People; but the open Quarrel and canvassing Ambition of these two great Men made such a Wound in the Body Politick, that from that time it continued to be divided into two Parts, One of which was called the Populace or Commons, the Other the Few or Great ones.

This put *Pericles* upon letting loose the Reins to the People, and suiting his Administration of publick Affairs to their Inclination, by contriving continually to have some publick Shew, or Feast, or Solemnity, some Entertainment and Divertisement or other in Town, to please them, wheedling the Citizens, as a School-master does his Boys, with such kind of amusements as were Instructive as well

as Agreeable to them. Besides that every Year he sent out threescore Gallies, on board of which there went several of the Citizens, who were in Pay eight Months, learning at the same time and practising the Art of Navigation, that they might prove good Seamen.

Moreover he sent out many Colonies, One consisting of a thousand men, into the *Chersonese*, Another of five hundred into the Isle of *Andros*, and a Thousand into *Thrace* to dwell among the *Bisaltæ*, a People there; and others into *Italy*, when the City *Sybaris* was to be re-peopled, the Inhabitants whereof went by the Name of the *Thurians*. And This he did to ease and discharge the City of an idle, and by reason of their idleness a busy meddling rabble of People, who having little to do of their Own, would have made work by giving disturbance to the Publick; by which he at the same time provided for the Necessities of the poor Townsmen, and put an awe and a guard upon their Allies from attempting any thing of change, by sending them to dwell among them.

But That which gave most Pleasure and Ornament to the City of *Athens*, and the greatest Admiration even to Astonishment to all Strangers, and That which alone doth sufficiently witness for all *Greece*, that That Power of hers that is so much talk'd of, and her ancient Wealth, was no Romance or idle Story, was that glorious Apparade and Furniture of those stately publick Buildings and Dedications which *Pericles* caused to be raised and made there. This was That of all his Actions in the Government which his Enemies look'd askint at, and fell foul upon in the popular Assemblies, crying out, *that the Commonwealth of Athens had lost its Reputation, and was ill spoken of Abroad, for removing the common Bank and publick Monies of all the Grecians from the Isles of Delos, where it was to have been*

been kept, and taking it into their own Custody; and as to the fairest excuse they had to plead for their so doing, to wit, that they took it away thence, for fear of the Barbarians, lest They should seize it, and on purpose to secure it in a safe Place, Pericles had broke the Neck of that Pretence by putting it to other uses; and how that Greece cannot but resent it as an unsufferable affront, and must needs look upon her self as treated after a tyrannical manner, when she sees that that Treasure which was upon a Necessity contributed by Her for the use and maintenance of War, is wantonly lavish'd out by Us upon our City, to gild her all over, and to adorn and set her forth as it were some proud stately Dame, hung round with precious Stones, and Statues, and sumptuous Temples, which cost a world of Money.

Wherefore Pericles on the other hand informed the State, that they were no manner of way obliged to give any account of those Monies to their Friends and Allies, insomuch as they fought and maintained a War in their Defence, and kept off the Barbarians from attacking them, and harrassing their Country, while in the mean time they did not so much as set out Horse, or Man, or Ship, but only found Money for the Service; which Money, says he, is not Theirs that give it, but Theirs that receive it, if so be that they perform the Conditions upon which they receive it. And that it was good reason, that the City being sufficiently provided and stored with those things that are necessary for War, they should convert the Overplus of its Wealth to such Undertakings and Designs, as would hereafter, when they were finished, eternize their Fame, and for the present, while they are a doing, will readily supply all the Inhabitants with plenty; for there being such variety of all kind of Workmanship, this will necessarily give Life to all Sorts of Arts and Trades, and employ all Hands, which

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will actually put the whole City in a manner into State-pay; so that at the same time she is beautified and maintained by her self at her own Cost and Charge. For as Those who are of Age and Strength for War, are provided for and maintained in the Armies abroad by their Pay out of the publick Stock, so it being his desire and design that the rude Multitude that staid at home, and were versed in Handy-crafts, should not go without their share of publick Salaries, and yet that he would not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in among them, with the Approbation of the State, those vast Projects of Buildings, and designs of Works, that would be a Work of Time before they could be finished, and which will employ sundry Arts and Occupations; That so that part of the People, that staid in the City and kept at home, might no less than Those that were at Sea, or in Garrison, or under Arms, have a fair pretence for receiving Benefit from the Publick, and having Their shares of the publick Monies. That since they made use of all Sorts of Materials, such as Wood, Stone, Brass, Ivory, Gold, Ebony, Cypress; and the Arts or Trades that wrought and fashioned them were Smiths and Carpenters, Image-makers and Plaisterers, Founders and Brasiers, Stone-cutters or Carvers and Masons, Dyers and Stainers, Gold-smiths, Ivory-cutters, Painters or Picture-drawers, Embroiderers, Turners; and Those that imported these things and conveyed them up to the Town for use, were Merchants, and Mariners, and Masters of Ships by Sea; and Those who brought and helped to bring them by Land were Waggoners and Cartwrights, Carriers, and those that let Horses to hire, Carters and Muleteers, Rope-makers, Workers in Stone, Shooe-makers, Leather-dressers, Surveyors, and Menders of High-ways, Pioneers and Diggers in

Mines ; and that every Trade and Mystery (in the same nature as a Commander or Captain in an Army hath his particular Company of Soldiers under him) had its own hired and peculiar Company of Journey-men and Labourers belonging to it, banded and pack-ed up together as in array, to be as it were the In-strument and Body for the performance of the Ser-vice ; all these different Functions did distribute and scatter the Advantage and Benefit of them among the People of the Town through all Ages and Con-ditions, of whatsoever Trade and Occupation they might be. As the Works grew up, being as stately and extraordinary for Bulk and Greatness, so inimitable for Beauty and Gracefulness, the Workmen striving to outvy the Richness of the Materials and the Greatness of the Design, in the Curiosity and Beauty of Workmanship, the thing that was most to be ad-mired was the haste and speed they made : For when 'twas thought any one of those Works would have taken up many Ages, they were all finished during the administration of one Man.

It is said indeed that Zeuxis hearing Agatharcus the Picture-drawer value himself for dispatching his Work with speed and ease, reply'd, But I am a long time about mine. For the ease and ha-stiness in doing of a thing doth not usually give either much Strength or Beauty to the Work. But Time joined with great Labour is observ-ed to repay the Workman in the durableness it gives his Performance : For which reason Pe-ricles's Works are the more admired, having been done so well in a little time as to hold good for a long time after. For every several Piece of his Work was immediately even at that time for its Beauty and Elegance Antique, as if it had been performed by some ancient Master ; and yet for its Vigour and Freshness it looks to this
 VOL. II. L day.

day as if it were spick and span, and newly wrought: There is such a kind of flourishing Gloss upon those Works of His, which continually preserves the sight of them from being sullied by time, as if they had an ever-green spirit, and a never-fading Soul mingled in the Composition of them.

Now *Phidias* was He who had the oversight of all the Works, and was his Surveyor-General, tho' in the several Designs and Pieces there were great Masters and rare Artists imployed under him. For *Callicrates* and *Ictinus* built the *Parthenon*, (that is, the Temple of the Virgin *Pallas*) which was in measure an hundred Foot every way; and the Chappel at *Eleusin* (where the sacred Rites of the Goddess *Ceres* were celebrated) was begun by *Coræbus*, who also placed the Pillars that stand upon the Floor or Pavement, and join'd them with Architraves. But after his Death *Metagenes* the *Xypetian* rais'd the Girth or Waste of it, and set up the Pillars that are above; and *Xenocles* the *Cholargian* roofed or arched the Lanthorn or *Doma* on the top of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

As for the Long Wall, which join'd the Port or Harbour with the Town, concerning which *Socrates* saith he himself heard *Pericles* deliver his Opinion and give order about it, *Callicrates* took That by the Great. This brave Piece of Work *Cratinus*, like a Poet as he was, sneeringly flouts at, by reason it was so long a finishing:

'Tis long since *Pericles*, if *Words* would do't,
Talkt up the Wall, but yet set no hands to't.

The *Odeum* or Musick-room, which for the contrivance of it on the inside was full of Seats and ranges of Pillars, and on the outside in the Roof
or

or Covering of it was made from one Point at top with a great many Bendings all shelving downward; they say was so made after the Copy and in imitation of the King of *Persia's* Pavillion, and this by *Pericles's* order likewise: Upon which occasion *Cratinus* again, in his Comedy called *The Thracian Women*, rallies him thus;

*Here comes along, our goodly Jove, (God blefs!)
Who's that, I pray? JOBBERNOLL Pericles.
The Shells being scrap'd, he now has got the Model
O'th' Musick-room (help Goddess) in his Noddle.*

Then *Pericles* out of an Ambition to do something to be talked of, did first enact or make a Decree, that a Prize should be plaid in the Science of *Musick* every Year at the solemn Feasts of *Minerva*, which lasted five Days together, called *Panathenæa*, whither all the People of City and Country were used to resort: and He himself being chosen Judge of the Prizes, and Bestower of the Rewards, gave order after what manner Those who were to play the Prizes were either to sing with the Voice, or to play upon the Flute, or upon the Cittern or Guitarr. And both at that time (to wit, at the Feast) and at other times also They were wont to see and hear those Prizes and Tryals of Skill, in this *Odeum* or Musick-room.

Further, the Portait and Entrance of the Citadel or Castle were finished in five Yearstime, *Mnesicles* being the chief Undertaker of that Work. Now there was a strange accident happened in building of the Citadel, which shewed that the Goddess was so far from disliking the Work, that she help'd to carry it on and to bring it to Perfection. For one of the Artificers, who was the quickest and the handiest Workman among them All, with a slip of his Foot fell down from a great height, and

appeared to be in so dangerous a Condition, that the Physicians and Chirurgions gave him over. *Pericles* being at a loss, and not knowing what to do, *Minerva* appeared to him at Night in a Dream, and ordered a Medicine, which *Pericles* applying to the Man, did in a short time and with great ease cure him. On this Occasion it was that he set up a brass Statue of *Minerva*, called hence the Statue of *Health*, in the Citadel near the Altar, which as They say was there before his Time. But it was *Phidias* who wrought (1) the Goddess's Image in Gold, and hath his Name inscribed on the Pedestal as the Workman thereof. And indeed the whole Work in a manner was under his Charge, and he had (as we have said already) the oversight of all the Artists and Workmen, because *Pericles* had a kindness for him.

And this made the poor Man to be much envied, and his Patron to be very ill spoken of, and horribly abused with Stories, as if *Phidias* had been his Pimp, and took up Ladies and Gentlewomen that came to see the Works, for *Pericles's* use. The Comick Wits of the Town, when they had got this Story by the end, made much of it, and bedash'd him with all the ribaldry they could invent, as if he had been the arrantest Whoremaster that ever lived; charging him falsely with the Wife of *Menippus*, one who was his Friend, and had been

(1) This Statue was of Gold and Ivory; and we find a Description of it in *Pausanias*. The Goddess was made standing, cloathed in a Tunick that reach'd down to her Heel. On her *Ægis* or Breast-Plate was engraved *Medusa's* Head in Ivory, and *Victory*. She held a Pike in her Hand, and at her Feet lay her Buckler, and a Dragon, supposed to be *Erichthonius*,

The Monster *Sphinx* was represented on the Middle of her Head-piece, with two Griffins on the Sides. One may judge of the Dimensions of this Statue from the Largeness of the Victory on her *Ægis*, or Breast-plate, which was about four Cubits, and from the Forty Talents of Gold which *Pericles* affirmed had been employ'd upon it.

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a Lieutenant-General under him in the Wars; and with the Volaries or Bird-Cages of *Pyrilampes*, who being an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, they pretended and made as if he were wont to present Peacocks and such fine Birds to *Pericles's* Misses, the Women whom he gallanted and kept Company with. And why should one wonder at what such Fellows say, who play the *Satyrists* upon other Men's Lives, and daily upon all occasions with their Reproaches and evil Speeches sacrifice the Reputation of their Superiors, the *Great* and the *Good*, to the envy and spite of the Rabble, as to some evil *Genius* or wicked Spirit; whenas *Stesimbrotus* had the Insolence to charge *Pericles* with that detestable Crime of committing Incest with his own Son's Wife.

By this means it comes about, that it is a very difficult matter to trace and find out the Truth of any thing by *History*, when on one hand Those who undertake to write it, living so long after the things were done, cannot arrive at the certain Knowledge of such transactions as past in the times before them; and on the other hand, that History which is contemporary and of the same standing with those Actions and Lives which it reporteth, doth partly thro' Envy and Ill-will, partly thro' Favour and Flattery, disguise and pervert the Truth.

Now when the Orators who sided with *Thucydides* and were of his Party, were at one time loudly exclaiming against *Pericles*, as one who squandered away the publick stock in idle Expences, and made havock of the State-revenues, He starting up in the open Assembly put the question to the People, Whether they thought that what he had laid out was too much? and they saying, (1) *Too much*
of

(1) It appears from a Passage in *Thucydides*, that the publick Stock of the *Athenians* mounted to Nine Thousand Seven Hundred Talents, of which *Pericles* had laid out in those Publick Buildings

of all Conscience; Well then! said he, since 'tis so, let not the Cost and Charge go upon your account, but upon mine: And accordingly I will make the Inscription upon the Temples and other publick Buildings in mine own Name. When therefore they heard him say thus, whether it were out of a surprize to see the greatness of his Spirit, or out of emulation that they were not willing he should take all the honour to himself of such Magnificent Buildings, they cried aloud, bidding him to spend on and lay out o' God's Name, what he thought fit out of the publick Purse, and to spare no Cost, till all were finished.

At length being brought to push of Pike with *Thucydides*, upon Tryal of Skill which of Them should drive the Other out of the Country by Ostracism, and having not without some hazard got the better, he procured His banishment for ten Years, and then routed and broke to pieces all the opposite Party, which had stood against him. So that now the difference and quarrel being wholly at an end, and the City as it were levelled into an even temper, and made of one piece, he in a trice brought about all *Athens* to his own devotion, and got the disposal of all Affairs that belonged to the *Athenians* into his own Hands: their Customs, their Armies, their Gallies, their Islands, the Sea, and that great Power and Strength which accrued to them partly by means of the other *Grecians*, and partly also upon the account of the *Barbarians*, were all at his disposal; in a Word, such a Seignory and Dominion, as was mounded and fortified with several Nations that were subject to it, and with the Friendship and Amity of several Kings, and with

Buildings Three thousand seven hundred. How then could he tell the People that it should be at his own Expence; especially since *Plutarch* tells us in the Sequel that he had not in the least improved the Estate left him by his Father?

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the Alliances of Confederate Potentates and great Lords.

After This he was no longer the same Man he had been before, nor so tame and gentle, and familiar with the Populace, as to yield himself up to Their pleasure, and to comply with the desires of the Rabble, as a Steersman tacks about with the Wind, through all the Points of the Compass. But on the other hand, from that loose, remiss, and in some Cases corrupt way of wheedling the People, he wound and screw'd them up to an Aristocratical and Regal form of State and Government; and shewing himself upright and unblameable in his noble and sincere Aim at the best things, he did by these means generally lead the People along with their own Wills and Consents, by persuading and shewing them what was to be done; and sometimes too ruffling them, and forcing them full fore against their Will, he made them, whether they would or no, to close with what he proposed for the publick Advantage.

Wherein, to say the truth, he did but like a skilful Physician, who in a complicated and chro-nical Disease, as he sees occasion, one while allows his Patient the moderate use of such things as please him, another while he applies Corrosives and sharp Things to put him to pain, and administers such Medicines as may work the Cure. For there arising and growing up, as must be supposed, all manner of Distempers among a People which had so vast a Command and Dominion, He alone, as a great Master, knowing how with care to handle and deal with them all severally, and in an especial manner making that use of *Hopes* and *Fears* as his two chief Rudders, as with the One to check and stop the career of their high-flown Confidence at any time, so with the Other to raise them up and comfort them, when they lay under any dis-

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couragement: He plainly shewed by This, that *Rhetorick*, or the Art of speaking, is, in *Plato's* Sense and Language, the Government or Management of many Spirits; and that her chiefest business and design is to teach the Method and Art of managing the Affections and Passions, which are as it were the Pegs, the Stops and Keys of the Soul, which require a very skilful touch to be plaid upon as they should be.

Now the reason that made *Pericles* so prevailing, was not barely the power and force of his Expression and Language; but, as *Thucydides* assures us, the high Opinion which the People had of the Man, and the Reputation and Integrity of his Life, he being one who was free from all Corruption or Bribery, and above all considerations of Money. Who, notwithstanding he had made the City of *Athens*, which was great of it self, as great and rich as can be imagined, and tho' he were himself also grown in Power and Interest to be more than equal to many Kings and absolute Lords, who some of them also bequeathed by Will their Estates to their Children, yet He for his part did not improve the Patrimony his Father left him, or make it more than it was by one Groat or Drachm.

Thucydides doth indeed give a plain narrative of that great Power and Interest of His; the *Comick Poets* do spitefully enough, as their manner is, affect to speak of it as a Tyrannical Power, calling his Companions and Friends about him by the name of *the New Pisistratus's Courtiers or Guards*, and demanding of him to abjure the setting up for a single Person, or exercising an Arbitrary Power, as One whose Grandeur and Eminence were unproportionable to and incompatible with a *Democracy*, or popular Government, and grown to be a Grievance not to be endured in a free State. Further, *Teleclides* saith, that the Athenians had betrayed and
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surrendered up to Him both the Customs and Imposts of their subject Cities, and the Cities themselves, so as that he might lay Burdens upon Some and ease Others, build the Walls of These Cities and pull down Those of Others, make War and Peace with Whom he thought fit. In short, that the Interest and Strength of the State was so much in his disposal, that its Peace and Prosperity entirely depended upon Him. Nor was all this Power of his like the flourishing Condition of other State Politicians, which is commonly of no long Continuance; but having for forty Years together kept up his Authority among such great Statesmen, as *Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides*, He after the overthrow and banishment of *Thucydides* retain'd his Credit and Power for no less than fifteen Years. And tho' the Power he had was perpetual, which before had been in Magistrates chosen annually, yet he kept himself clear of Corruption or Bribery; and yet he was not altogether idle or careless in making the most of what he had; for as to his paternal and personal Estate, which he had honestly acquired, he so ordered it, that it might neither thro' negligence be wasted or lessened; nor yet, thro' the multiplicity of publick business, in which he was engaged, give him too much trouble, or cost him much time in taking care of it, and therefore he put it into such a way of management as he thought to be the most easy for himself, and the most exact for Thrift. For all his yearly Products and Profits he sold together in a lump; and then from day to day bought in the Market as much as was necessary for the Ordinary Expence of his Family.

Upon which account it was, that his Children when they grew to Age were not well pleased with his Menage, nor the Women that lived with him, infomuch that they complained of this way of
Expence

Expence in his House-keeping, which was order'd and set down from day to day, with so much Exactness, that there was not there, as is usual in a great Family and a plentiful Estate, any thing to spare, or over and above, but all his Disbursements and Receipts were book'd and carried on as it were by Number and Measure.

Now there was but one Menial Servant of his, *Evangelus* by name, who kept up all this strictness of his Accounts; One naturally fitted above any Other, for such an employ, or at least One that owed his Qualifications for it to *Pericles* himself.

All This in truth was but the effect of his Tutor *Anaxagoras's* wise Instructions; tho' He for his part by a kind of Divine Impulse and greatness of Spirit, which made him contemn the World, voluntarily quitted his House, and left his Land to lie fallow, and to be grazed by Sheep like a Common.

But in my Opinion the Life of a contemplative *Philosopher*, and That of an active *Statesman*, are not the same thing; for the One only employs the Mind and Understanding about great and good things, which Mind wants not the help of Instruments, nor needs the supply of any Materials from without for what it hath to do, so long as it only contemplates; whereas the Other, who applies his Contemplations upon Virtue to human uses, may have occasion for plenty and abundance of outward things, not only Those which are necessary for his subsistence, but Those which are handsome also and suitable to his Quality; *Pericles* found the use of them; as by that means he had it in his Power to relieve many poor Citizens.

And yet for all That there goes a Story, that his Tutor himself, poor *Anaxagoras*, while *Pericles* was taken up with publick Affairs, lay neglected; and that now being grown old, he laid himself down

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(1) with his Head covered, resolving to starve himself. Which thing being by chance brought to *Pericles's* Ear, he was struck, and instantly ran to the Man, and used all the Arguments and Intreaties he could to him, lamenting not so much His Condition as his Own, should he lose such a Counsellor of State as he had found Him to be. And that upon this, as the Story goes on, *Anaxagoras* should unmuffle, and shewing himself, make an answer, *Ab Pericles*, said he, *They who have occasion for a Lamp, use to supply it with Oyl*; meaning, that if he would have him to live, he must allow him a Maintenance.

When the *Lacedæmonians* began to shew themselves troubled at the greatness of the *Athenians*, and to be jealous of the increase of their Power, *Pericles* did the more endeavour to inspire Courage and great Thoughts into his Citizens, and to put them upon great Actions and Exploits; in order to which he proposed an Edict or Decree in writing, to summon all the *Grecians*, in what part soever they dwelt, whether of *Europe* or *Asia*; and that every City, little as well as great, should (2) send their Deputies to *Athens*, there to hold a general Assembly, or Convention of Estates, there to consult and advise about rebuilding the *Grecian* Temples which the *Barbarians* had set fire to, and burnt down; and about discharging what they were

(1) It was a Custom to cover the Head when any one was under the greatest Distress, and resolved to make away with himself. The Reasons for which Custom the Reader will find in the Notes upon this Verse in *Horace*, lib. 2. Sat. 3.

*Nam malè re gestâ cum vellem
mittere operto
Me Capite in Flammâ.*

(2) *Pericles* his Drift was to have *Athens* hereby acknowledged as the Mistress and Sovereign of all the Cities. This we find in the Sequel, the *Lacedæmonians*, who only were in a Condition to rival the *Athenians*, were aware of, and thinking it unsafe to yield to them so great a Prerogative crossed their Design, so that in the Event it came to nothing.

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indebted on account of Vows made to their Gods for the safety of *Greece*, when they fought against those *Barbarians*; also what was proper to be done with regard to Sea-affairs, that They might henceforward all of them pass to and fro and trade securely, and be at a constant peace among themselves.

Upon this Errand there were twenty Men, of Such as were each of them above fifty years of Age, sent by Commission; Five whereof were to summon the *Ionians* and *Dorians* that were in *Asia*, and the Islanders as far as *Lesbos* and *Rhodes*; and Five were to go over all the places in *Hellepont* and *Thrace* up to *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) and other Five to go to *Bæotia* and *Phocis* and *Peloponnesus*, (now called the *Morea*) and from hence to pass through the *Locrians* Country over to the neighbouring Continent as far as *Acarmania* and *Ambracia*; and the rest of the Commissioners were to take their Course thro' *Eubæa*, to the *Oetæans*, and the Gulph of *Malea*, and to Those of *Pthia* and *Achaia* and *Thessaly*; All of them to treat with the People as they pass'd, and to persuade them to come in and bear their share in the Debates and Concerts, which would be for settling the Peace, and regulating a-new the affairs of *Greece*.

When all came to all, there was nothing done in this business, nor did the Cities meet by their Deputies, as was desired; the *Lacedæmonians*, as we are told, under-hand crossing the design; for the first repulse it met with was in *Peloponnesus*. However I thought fit to bring in this Passage, to shew the spirit of the Man, and the greatness of his Mind for State-projects.

In his military Capacity he got himself a great Reputation for his wariness, as one who would not by his good will engage in any Fight, which had much uncertainty in the Event and hazard in the

Enterprize, and who envied not the Glory of those Generals, whose rash Adventures Fortune favoured beyond expectation, however They were admired by Others as brave Men and excellent Commanders, nor did he think them worthy his imitation: And was always used to say to his Citizens, that if *He could help it, they should continue immortal and live for ever*; meaning that He for his part would ever be tender of their Lives, and not needlessly expose them.

To this purpose seeing (1) *Tolmidas* the Son of *Tolmæus*, upon the confidence of his former good Successes, and flush'd with the great Honour his Warlike Atchievements had procured him, making preparation to attack the *Bæotians* in their own Country at an unseasonable time, when there was no likely opportunity for carrying the Design, and that he had prevailed with many young Persons of the better Sort, and who were ambitious of signaling their Courage, to list themselves as Volunteers in the Service, who besides his other Force made up a thousand, he endeavoured to divert him from it in the publick Assembly, telling him in that memorable Saying of his, which still goes about, *That if he would not take Pericles's Advice, yet he should not do amiss to await Time's leisure, who is the wisest Counsellor of all.* For this Saying of His he was even at that time indifferently well approved; but within a few days after, when the sad News was brought that *Tolmidas* himself was slain, having been defeated in the Battel near *Coronea*, and that a great many of the best of their Citizens were lost with him, This that *Pericles* had said gained him a high Respect, together with a great Love and

(1) This *Tolmidas* had ravaged of *Sicyon*. and taken *Chalcis* from *Peloponnesus*, burnt the *Carthaginians* Ships, overthrown the Troops the *Corinthians*.

Kindness among the People, looking upon him as a wise Man, and a Lover of his Countrymen.

But of all the Expeditions which have been made, That of His upon the *Chersonese* gave the People most Satisfaction, it having proved so instrumental to the Safety of those poor *Greeks* who inhabited there. For he did not only, by carrying along with him a thousand of the Citizens of *Athens*, fortify and strengthen their Cities with a competent Number of Men; but also by bracing as it were the neck of Land, which joins the *Peninsula* to the Continent, with Bulwarks and Forts all the way from Sea to Sea, he kept off and put a stop to the inroads of the *Thracians*, who lay all about the *Chersonese*, and by that means shut out a continual and grievous War, with which that Country had been all along harassed, as being in the midst of a barbarous People, and exposed to frequent Robberies both from Those who lived upon the Borders and from their own Inhabitants.

Nor was he less admired and talked of among Strangers and Foreigners for his sailing round the *Peloponnesus*, having set out from a Port of *Megara*, called *Pegæ* or the Fountains, with an hundred Gallies. For he did not only pillage and lay waste the Cities along the Sea-coast, as *Tolmidas* had formerly done, but also advancing far from Sea up into main Land, with the Soldiers he had on Board, he made the People for fear of him shut themselves up, and keep close within their Walls; and at *Nemea* he with main Force routed the *Sicyonians*, who stood their Ground and joined Battel with him, and made them turn their Backs, whereupon he set up a Trophy in token of his Victory. And having drawn out of *Achaia*, at that time in League with *Athens*, a supply of Soldiers which he put on board his Gallies, he went off with the Fleet to the opposite Continent; and having sailed along by the mouth

of

of the River *Achelous*, he over-ran *Acarmania*, and shut up the (1) *Oeniadae* within the City-wall; and having ravaged their Country, he weigh'd Anchor for home with this double Advantage, that he appear'd terrible and dreadful to his Enemies, and at the same time safe and wary, yet stout and active too, to his Fellow-Citizens; for there was not the least miscarriage or misfortune that befel Any of Those who were under his Charge during the whole Expedition.

Moreover when he sailed to *Pontus* with a great Fleet and well equip'd, he accommodated the *Greek* Cities with what things they wanted or stood in need of, and treated them with great kindness and courtesy; and at the same time to the barbarous Nations that dwelt round about them, and to the Kings and Lords of those Nations, he openly shew'd the Greatness of the *Athenians* Power, and how void of Fear and full of Confidence they were, sailing wherever they had a mind, and bringing the whole Sea under their Dominion. Further, he left the *Sinopians* thirteen Men of War, with Soldiers under *Lamachus's* Command, to assist them against *Timesileos* the Tyrant; and He and his Complices being driven out of the Country, he made a Decree or Order of State, that six hundred of the *Athenians* who were willing to go should sail to *Sinope*, and plant themselves there with the *Sinopians*, sharing among them the Houses and Land, which the Tyrant and his Party formerly held.

But in other things he did not comply with the giddy Humours and eager Passions of the Citizens, nor quit his own Resolutions, to go along with them at their mad rate, when being lifted up with the consideration of that vast strength they were Ma-

(1) The Inhabitants of *Oenias* but could not take it, so that he in *Acarmania* confining on *Ætolia* was contented to block them up. *Pericles* laid Siege to the City

sters of, and of that great Success Fortune had favoured them with, they were for making (1) a second Conquest of *Ægypt*, as their own by a former Conquest, and for disturbing those Parts of the King of *Persia*'s Dominions that lay near the Seaside. Nay, there were Many, who were possessed with a foolish and (as it would have proved then and hath done since) unfortunate Design for Invading *Sicily*, a Heat which afterward the Orators of *Alcibiades*'s Party blew up into a Flame. There were Some also, who dreamed of *Tuscany* and of *Carthage*; and not without reason or hope, They thought, because of their large Dominion, and of the prosperous Course they had hitherto had of their Affairs.

But *Pericles* curb'd this extravagant humour of making Excursions abroad, and checked their over-busy Fancies, by turning the most and greatest part of their Force and Power to the preserving and securing of what they had already gotten; supposing it would be a considerable business if they could keep the *Lacedæmonians* under, or at least in good order, he having all along a particular pique at Them, which as upon many other occasions, so he particularly shewed by what he did in the time of the Holy War.

For whereas the *Lacedæmonians*, having gone with an Army to the City *Delphi*, restored *Apollo*'s Temple, which the *Phocians* had got into their possession, to the *Delphians* again; immediately after their Departure, *Pericles* coming with another Army brought in the *Phocians* again. And the *Lacedæmonians* having caused to be engraved on the

(1) For the *Athenians* had heretofore been Masters of it, as we read in the 2d Book of *Thucydides*. They were driven out of it by *Megabysus*, *Artaxerxes*'s Lieutenant, in the first Year of the 80th Olympiad,

Forehead of a (1) Brass Wolf that stood in the Temple, the Privilege the *Delphians* had granted Them of first consulting the Oracle; He also having received from the *Phocians* the like Privilege for his *Athenians*, had it cut upon the same Wolf of Brass on his right side.

Now that he did well and wisely in this, that he kept the Force and Power of the *Athenians* within the compass of *Greece*, the Things and Passages themselves, that happen'd afterward, did bear sufficient witness. For in the first place the *Eubœans* revolted, against whom he pass'd over with Forces; and then immediately after News came that the *Megarians* were set upon in War, and that the Enemy's Army was upon the Borders of the *Attick* Country, under the Command and Conduct of (2) *Pleistanax*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* went with his Army back again in all haste out of *Eubœa*, to the War which threatened home; and tho' there were many brave Fel-

(1) *Plutarch* does not mean any Wolf of Brass that had been consecrated by the *Spartans*, but that which had been consecrated by the *Delphians* themselves, and placed by the side of the great Altar; which they did upon the following Occasion. A Thief having one day watched his Opportunity robbed the Temple, and went and hid himself with his Booty in the thickest and most unfrequented Part of Mount *Parnassus*, where a Wolf by chance met him, and fell upon, and killed him, after which he went every day into the City, where he terrified the Inhabitants with his frightful Howlings. The *Delphians* alarmed at the Thing it self, as well as at the regular Repetition of it, concluded that some God must have

a Hand in it. They therefore followed the Wolf, who conducted them to the Place where the Carcase lay, near which they likewise found the Treasure belonging to the Temple, and in Memory of the Miracle consecrated the Wolf of Brass mentioned here by *Plutarch*. They who have no relish for such Traditions will chuse rather to believe that this Wolf of Brass was placed there by the *Delphians* to denote one of the Attributes of *Apollo*, who was called *λυκοκτόνος* the *Wolf-Slayer*.

(2) *Thucydides* places this Expedition fourteen Years before the first *Peloponnesian* War, of which mention will be made hereafter. It fell out therefore in the 2d Year of the 83d *Olympiad*.

lows in Arms on the other side who dared him to fight, he did not venture to engage with them: but perceiving that *Pleistanax* was a very young man, and that he govern'd himself mostly by the Counsel and Advice of *Cleandrides*, whom the Overseers or Curators of the State (whom they call *Ephori*) had sent along with him by reason of his youth to be a kind of Guardian and Assistant to him; he privately tried what was to be done with him, and in a short time having corrupted him with Money, he prevailed with him to withdraw the *Peloponnesians* out of the *Attick* Country.

When the Army was retired and dispersed into several Quarters through their Towns and Cities, the *Lacedæmonians* being grievously offended at it, amerced their King in a great Sum of Money by way of Fine, which he being not able to pay, (1) quitted his Country, and remov'd himself from *Lacedæmon*; the other Gentleman, *Cleandrides*, fled for it, having a Sentence of Death past upon him for betraying them. This Man was the Father of that *Gylippus*, who defeated the *Athenians*, and beat them so at *Sicily*. And it seems that this Covetousness was a Family Distemper, that pass'd from Father to Son: for He also whom we last mentioned was upon a like account caught in foul Practices, and expell'd his Country with Ignominy. But this is a Story we have told at large, when we treated concerning the Affairs of *Lysander*.

Now when *Pericles*, in giving up his Accounts of this Expedition, had set down a Disbursement of ten Talents as laid out upon a fit and useful Occasion, the People without any more ado, not troub-

(1) *Thucydides* saith he was sold his Retreat at a round Price actually banish'd because he had to *Pericles*.

ling themselves to canvass the Mystery, how it was expended, freely allow'd of it. And some Historians, in which number is *Theophrastus* the Philosopher, have reported it for a truth, that Year by Year *Pericles* sent privately the aforesaid Sum of ten Talents to *Sparta*, wherewith he so far gained Those that were in any Office or place of Trust as to keep off the War; not with any intent to purchase Peace, but to redeem Time, to the intent that having at leisure provided himself, he might the better make a War hereafter.

Wherefore presently upon this, turning his Forces against the Revolters, and passing over into the Island of *Eubœa* with fifty Sail of Ships and five thousand Men in Arms, he overthrew and won their Cities, and drove out those of the *Chalcidians*, whom they called *Hippobotæ*, i. e. Horse-feeders, the chief Persons for Wealth and Reputation among them: and removing all the *Hæstians* out of the Country, brought in a Plantation of his own Countrymen the *Athenians* in their room to dwell there by themselves; treating those People with that Severity, for that having taken an *Attick* Ship, they had put all the Men on board to death.

After this was over, having made a Truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* for thirty Years, he orders by publick Decree an Expedition against the Isle of *Samos*, upon this Pretence, that They, when they were ordered to come to amicable Terms with the *Milesians*, did not as they were bid to do. But as what he did against the *Samians*, he is thought to have done in favour of *Aspasia*, and to gratify some Humour or Design of hers, (she being that Country-woman) here in this Place may be a fit occasion for us to make inquiry concerning this Woman, what cunning Art or charming Force she had, so great as to inveigle

and captivate, as she did, the chief Persons of the Government, and to afford the Philosophers occasion so much to discourse about her, and not to her disparagement neither.

Now that she was a *Milesian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Axiochus*, is a thing acknowledged. And they say that she, in imitation of one *Thargelia*, a Courtesan descended from the (1) ancient *Ionians*, used to make her Addresses to Personages of the greatest Power: For that same *Thargelia* being a handsom Woman, and having a graceful Carriage and a liveliness of Spirit, kept Company with a great many of the *Greeks*, and brought the greatest part of them over to the King's Interest: and by their means, being Men of the greatest Power and Quality, she sow'd the Seeds of the *Median* Faction up and down in several Cities.

And for this *Aspasia*, They say that she was courted and carested by *Pericles* upon the account of her Wisdom and Knowledge in State-Affairs. For *Socrates* himself would sometimes go to visit her, and some of his Acquaintance with him; and Those who used her Company would carry their Wives along with them to her, as it were to Lecture, to hear her Discourse: tho' the House she kept was by no means reputable, nor her Employment consistent with Modesty or Decency; for she kept with her a great many Women of Pleasure. Now *Æschines* saith also that there was one (2) *Lyficles* a Gra-

(1) That is, from the Colony sent to inhabit that Part of *Asia Minor*, which was afterwards called *Ionia*, from that *Ionic* Migration. This *Thargelia* was so fine a Woman that by means of her Beauty she obtained the Sovereignty in *Thessaly*. However she came to an untimely End, for she was

murdered by one of her Lovers.

(2) I know of but Two of that Name, who made any considerable Figure among the *Athenians*. The first was sent with twelve Vessels under his Command to levy the Money that was necessary to carry on the Siege of *Mitylene*, and was slain by the *Carians* in that Expedition.

a Grafier, who from being of a mean Family, did, by keeping *Aspasia* Company after *Pericles's* Death, come to be a chief Man among the People of *Athens*. And in a Book of *Plato's*, intituled *Mexenus*, tho' the first part of it is written with the Air of a Romance, yet there is so much of true History in it, that she appears to have been a Woman, with whom many of the *Athenians* convers'd, and often resorted to, as the common Opinion was, upon the account of her Rhetorick, and her abilities of Discourse.

But I must needs say for *Pericles*, that the inclination and fancy he had for her appears rather to have proceeded from the Passion of Love. For he had a Wife that was near of kin to him, who had been married formerly to *Hipponicus*, by whom she had a Son, *Callias* by name, surnamed the Rich; as also she brought *Pericles*, while she liv'd with him, two Sons, *Xanthippus*, and *Paralus*. Afterwards when they could not well agree nor live together, he parted with her, with her own Consent, to another Man, and Himself took *Aspasia* to Wife, whom he loved with wonderful Affection; of which this Instance is handed down to us, that every day, both as he went out, and as he came in from Business abroad, he constantly saluted her.

In the Comedies she goes by the Names of young *Omphale* and *Deianira*, (the one *Hercules's* Mistress,

Expedition. But That could not be the *Lyficles* meant here by *Plutarch*, for he was slain the Year after *Pericles's* Death, too short a time for him to frame a Correspondence with *Aspasia* so as to make himself considerable thereby. The Second was put to Death by the *Athenians* for misbehaving himself in the Battel of *Charonea*,

which happened in the 3d Year of the CXth Olympiad, more than fourscore Years after the Death of *Pericles*. And if This was that *Lyficles*, *Aspasia* must have survived *Pericles* a long time indeed. I do not remember to have found him mentioned in any of the three Orations that remain of *Æschines*.

the other his Wife) and again, she was called *Juno*, (as *Pericles* himself was called *Jupiter*.) *Cratinus* hath plainly, and in down-right terms, given her out for a Whore or Harlot, in these Verses, speaking of her Mother;

*Of Juno, fair Aspasia by Name,
The good old Beldame's safely brought to Bed;
A wanton Minks, a Whore, a Thing past shame,
Bitch-fac'd, and born without a Maiden-head.*

It should seem also that he had a Bastard by her, concerning whom *Eupolis* in a Play of His, called, *The publick Affairs*, brings in *Pericles* asking in this manner ;

And is my Bastard-Son alive, d'ye say?

And then brings in *Pyronides* making answer :

*Alive, and would ere this many a fair day
Have married been, did not fear of foul play
From a Wife like his Mother keep him at a stay.*

Further they say that this *Aspasia* was so celebrated a Beauty in her time, that *Cyrus*, who made War against his Brother King *Artaxerxes* for the *Persian* Monarchy, gave Her whom he loved the best of all his Misses or Concubines, the Name of *Aspasia*, who before that was called *Milto*. She was a *Phocian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Hermotimus*, who when *Cyrus* fell in Battel, was carried to the King, and was in great Favour at Court. These things coming into my Memory, as I am writing this Story, it might look like an Omission in me if I shou'd pass them by.

Now the thing They quarrel with *Pericles* for, was, that he proposed to the Assembly the War
against

against the *Samians*, and had it enacted mainly in favour of the *Milesians*, upon the Request and Intreaty of *Aspasia*. For these two States waged a War for the Mastery of *Priene*, and the *Samians* getting the better on't refus'd to lay down their Arms, and to have the Controversy betwixt them debated and decided before the *Athenians*, as they ordered they should.

Wherefore *Pericles* providing a Fleet, went and broke up the *Oligarchy* which was at *Samos*, and taking fifty Hostages of the principal Persons of the Town, and as many of their Children, he sent them to the Isle of *Lemnos*, there to be kept.

Tho' there are Some do say that every one of those Hostages did severally proffer him a Talent a Head by way of Ransom, and that Those who had no mind to have a *Democracy* or popular Government in the City, tendered him many other Presents. Moreover (1) *Pissuthnes* the *Persian*, one of the King's Lieutenants, bearing some Goodwill to the *Samians*, sent him ten thousand Pieces of Gold to excuse the City. Howbeit *Pericles* would receive none of all This, but after he had taken that Course with the *Samians*, as he thought fit, and set up (2) a *Democracy* among them, he sail'd back to *Athens*.

But they immediately revolted, *Pissuthnes* having privily conveyed away their Hostages for them, and provided themselves with all things necessary for the War. Whereupon *Pericles* came out with a

(1) *Pissuthnes* the Son of *Histaspes* was Governour of *Sardis*. The true Reason which induced him to favour the *Samians*, was because They who had the greatest Authority among them were in the Interest of the *Persians*.

(2) That was not all he did; for the better to secure the Government he had established among them, he left a Garrison in the City; a Circumstance which ought not to have been forgotten or omitted by *Plutarch*.

Fleet a second time against them, whom he found not idle with their Hands in their Pockets, nor in a sneaking Posture, as if they were daunted at his coming, but altogether resolved to try for the Dominion of the Sea.

The issue of it all was, that after a brisk and sharp Sea-fight near the Island called *Tragia*, (that is, the Isle of Goats) *Pericles* obtained a gallant Victory, having with forty and four Sail, taken, routed, and sunk threescore and ten of the Enemies, whereof twenty were Men of War.

And pursuing his Victory he made himself Master of the Port or Harbour, laid Siege to the *Samians*, and block'd them up; who yet notwithstanding were so hardy and venturous as to make Sallies out, and fight under the City Walls. But after that another greater Fleet, sent as a fresh supply from *Athens*, was arriv'd, and that the *Samians* were now shut up with a close Leaguer on every side, *Pericles* taking with him threescore Gallies, sailed out into the main Sea; with a resolution, as most Authors give the Account, to meet with a Squadron of *Phenician* Ships, that were coming for the *Samians* Relief and Assistance, and to fight them at as great distance as could be from the Island; but, as *Stesimbrotus* will have it, with a design of putting over to *Cyprus*: which doth not seem to be probable. But which soever of the two was his intent, 'tis plain he was in an error, and by his doing as he did, gave occasion to a scurvy miscarriage.

For he being put to Sea, *Melissus* the Son of *Ithagene*s, a Man of Parts, and a Philosopher, being at that time Admiral of *Samos*, made but little reckoning either of the Ships that were left, in respect of their small number, or of the Commanders themselves, in regard of their want of Skill,
and

and upon this account prevailed with the Citizens to attack and set upon the *Athenians*. And the *Samians* having won the Battel, and taken several of the Men Prisoners, and sunk and spoiled several of the Ships, they thereby became Masters of the Sea, and brought into Port a fresh supply of Ammunition and Provision necessary for holding out a Siege, of which they were before much in want. *Aristotle* saith too, that *Pericles* himself had formerly been worsted by this *Melissus* in a Sea-fight.

(1) Now the *Samians*, that they might requite an Affront which had before been put upon them, marked by an Inscription or Brand those *Athenians* whom they took Prisoners in their Foreheads with the Picture of an Owl, (which is their City Crest,) because the *Athenians* had marked the *Samians* before with a *Samæna*, which is a sort of Ship, somewhat low and flat in the forepart of it, so as to look Snout-nosed, but wide and large, and well spread in the Hold, by which it both keeps snug upon the Water, and proves a swift Sailor besides. And it was so called, because the first of that kind was seen at *Samos*, having been built there by order of *Polycrates* the Tyrant. To these Marks or Brands upon the *Samians* Foreheads, they say, that that Passage in *Aristophanes* hath a secret allusion, where he saith,

The Samians are a Letter'd People.

Pericles, as soon as News was brought him of the Disaster that had befallen his Army, made all the haste he could to come in to their relief, and having got the better of *Melissus*, who bore up against him, and having put the Enemies to flight, he pre-

(1) We meet with no mention of these reciprocal Barbarities in *Thucydides*.

sently

sently hemm'd them in with a Wall, resolving to master them and take the Town, rather with some Cost and Time, than with the Wounds and Hazards of his Citizens.

But inasmuch as it was a hard matter to keep in the *Athenians*, who were vexed at the Delay, and were eagerly bent to fight, he dividing the whole multitude into eight Parts or Bodies of Men, so ordered the Business by Lot, that that Part which had the *white Bean* should have leave to feast and take their Ease, while the other seven were busy a fighting. For which reason they say also, that People, when at any time they had been merry and enjoy'd themselves, call such a Day a *White Day*, in allusion to this *white Bean*.

Ephorus the Historian tells us besides, that *Pericles* made use of Engines of Battery in this Siege, being much taken with the strangeness of the Invention, and that he plaid them in the Presence of *Artemo* Himself the Engineer; who being lame, was used to be carried about in a Litter or Sedan where his attendance was required, and for that reason was called *Periphoretus*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* disproves of This out of *Anacreon's* Poems, where mention is made of this *Artemo Periphoretus* as living several Ages before the *Samian* War, or this Siege of *Samos* by *Pericles*. And he says that *Artemo* being a Man who lov'd his Belly and his Ease, and had such a tender apprehension of Danger, so as to be struck down with fear at the very Thoughts of it, did for the most part keep close within door, having two of his Servants to hold a brazen Shield over his Head, that nothing might fall upon him from above: and if he were at any time forced upon necessity to go abroad, that he was carried about in a Pallankeen or little hanging Bed, close to the very Ground almost, and that for this reason he was called *Periphoretus*.

In

In the ninth Month the *Samians* surrendring themselves, and delivering up the Town, *Pericles* pull'd down their Walls, and seiz'd their Shipping, and set a Fine of a great Sum of Money upon them; part of which they paid down upon the nail, and the rest they agreed to bring in by a certain time, and gave Hostages for security.

Now (1) *Duris* the *Samian* makes a tragical outcry of this Story, charging the *Athenians* and *Pericles* with a great deal of Cruelty, which neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Aristotle* hath given any relation of: (but it is likely enough that that Author had little regard to Truth :) As, that he brought the Captains of the Galleys and the Seamen into the Market-place at *Miletum*, and there having bound them fast to Boards for ten days, and altho' they were already as good as half dead, he order'd them to be kill'd, by beating out their Brains with Clubs, and their dead Bodies to be flung out into the open Streets and Fields unburied.

But as for *Duris*, he being One, who even where he hath no private concern of his Own, is not wont to keep the historical Accounts he gives within the compass of truth, it is the more likely that upon this occasion he hath aggravated the Calamities which befel his Country, on purpose to draw an *odium* upon the *Athenians*.

Pericles, after the Overthrow of *Samos*, as soon as he returned back to *Athens*, took care that Those who died in the War should be honourably

(1) This Historian liv'd in the Days of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. He wrote a Discourse upon Tragedy, a History of *Libya*, That of *Agathocles* of *Syracuse*, Another of the *Macedonians*, or *Greeks*, and a Book of the *Samian* Boundaries. *Cicero* tells us he was *Homo in Historia*

diligens, which does not well agree with the Judgment *Plutarch* gives of him here, representing him as One that made Truth give way not only to his Passion, but to a Romantick Humour; a Quality very unfit for an Historian,

buried, (1) and himself pronounced their funeral Oration at their Interment, in Commemoration of their Virtues, as the Custom is even to this Day.

On this account he was so highly admir'd and esteem'd, that as he came down from the Pulpit (or Place where they delivered their Speeches) the Ladies came and complimented him, taking him by the Hand, and crowning him with Garlands and Ribbons, as they used to do Gamesters that won the publick Prizes; only *Elpinice* coming near said to him, *These are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, and such as deserve our Chaplets, who have lost us so many worthy Citizens, not in a War with Phœnicians or Medes, (Enemies and Foreigners) as my Brother Cimon, but for the Overthrow of a City that was in Alliance and of the same Country and Kindred with us.* As *Elpinice* spoke these Words, he gently smiling, as 'tis said, returned her this Verse of *Archilocus* for answer,

*Old Woman, as you are,
You should not powder Hair,
Nor, as you walk, perfume the Air;
Leave these things to the Young and Fair.*

Now *Ion* saith of Him, that upon this Exploit of his conquering the *Samians*, he entertained a strange and high Conceit of himself, in that *Agamemnon*

(1) This Oration is not to be confounded with That which he pronounced in Honour of Those who fell at the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, which we find preserv'd in the 2d Book of *Thucydides*. This mentioned here was pronounced in the last Year of the 84th *Olympiad*. and the Other not 'till the second of the 87th. We may observe by the

Way, That the Senate of *Areopagus* had always the Appointment of Those who were to perform that Service; and it is a great Instance of the high Reputation *Pericles* was in, since he was twice chosen on those important Occasions, which required a strong and masculine Eloquence to support and encourage the *Athenians*.

was

was ten Years taking a barbarous City, but He had in nine months time vanquished and reduced the chiefest and the most powerful People among all the *Ionians*. And indeed it was not without reason that he assumed this Glory to himself; for, to say the truth, there was much Uncertainty and great Hazard in this War, if (as *Thucydides* tells us) the *Samian* State were come to that pitch, that they were within a very little of wresting the whole Power and Dominion of the Sea out of the Hands of the *Athenians*.

After This was over, a War from *Peloponnesus* already breaking out in full Tide, he advised the People to send Assistance to the *Corcyraeans*, (the People of the Island now called *Corfu*) who were invaded and set upon by the *Corinthians*, and to take into their Protection and Alliance (1) an Island so strengthened, as that was, with naval Power; seeing that the *Peloponnesians* were just ready to declare against them, and fall upon them.

The Commons readily consenting to the motion, and voting an Aid and Succour for them, he dispatch'd away *Lacedaemonius*, *Cimon's* Son, having only ten Ships along with him, as if it were out of a design to affront and abuse him. For there was a great Kindness and Friendship betwixt *Cimon's* Family and the *Lacedaemonians*; wherefore that *Lacedaemonius* might lie the more open to a Charge, or Suspicion at least, of favouring the *Lacedaemonians*, and playing booty with them, if he perform'd no considerable or handsome Exploit in this Conduct and Service, he allowed him such a small

(1) For next to the *Athenians*, Italy and Sicily. *Homer* in his the *Corcyraeans* were most powerful at Sea. Besides the Isle was *Odyssey* gives us a high Idea of the very well situated to favour the Wealth and Power of those Islanders. Designs of the *Athenians* upon

number of Ships, (2) and sent him out against his Will: And indeed he did wholly, by all means he could, make it his business to hinder *Cimon's* Sons from rising in the State, pretending that by their very Names they were not to be look'd upon as Natives of the Country, or right-bred *Athenians*, but Foreigners and Strangers, inasmuch as one's Name was *Lacedæmonius*, another's *Theſſalus*, and the third's *Eleus*; and they were all three of them, as it was thought, born of an *Arcadian* Woman.

Wherefore *Pericles* being but ill spoken of upon the account of these ten Gallies, as having afforded but a small Supply to the poor People that desired it, and given a great Advantage to Those who might call him in question, he sent out some more other Ships afterwards to *Corcyra*, which arrived after the Fight was over.

The *Corinthians*, being deadly angry with the *Athenians*, accused them publickly at *Lacedæmon*, and the *Megarians* joined with them, complaining that they were, contrary to common Right and the Articles of Peace agreed upon Oath among the *Grecians*, kept out and driven away from every Market and from all Ports, where the *Athenians* had any Power, to the hindrance of Com-

(2) We are not to seek for Examples of Ministers, who have been charged with making use of such shameful means to discredit and ruin Generals that are not in their Favour and Interest. But *Pericles* was of too generous a Soul to be capable of so mean an Artifice, nor are we to believe it of him. *Thucydides* is rather to be rely'd on, than the Authors followed by *Plutarch*. He tells us that when *Pericles* order'd those ten Ships to sail, he gave them in Instruction not to engage with the *Corinthians*, unless they saw them attempting to

make a Descent upon *Corcyra*, or Any of its Territories. His Design was to let them fight it out at Sea among themselves as long as they pleas'd, whilst the *Athenians* remain'd Spectators, to the end they might weaken One Another, and be in no Condition to oppose the *Athenians* in any War they might have with them hereafter. Besides *Lacedæmonius* the Son of *Cimon* was not the sole Commander in this Expedition, *Diotenes* and *Proteus* were appointed him by *Pericles* for his Colleagues.

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merce, and the decay of their Trade. And Those of *Ægina*, having been grievously ill used and treated with Violence, made their Supplications in private to the *Lacedæmonians* for redress, as not daring openly to complain of the *Athenians*. In the mean time the City *Potidæa* (being under the Dominion of the *Athenians* then, but a Colony formerly of the *Corinthians*) having revolted, was beset with a formal Siege; which prov'd an occasion of hastning on the War.

Notwithstanding all This, there being Embassies sent to *Athens*, *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to bring several of those Complaints and Matters in dispute to a fair Determination and Decision, and to pacify and allay the Heats of the allied Parties; which makes it very likely that the War would not upon any other Grounds of Quarrel have fallen from all sides upon the *Athenians*, could They have been prevail'd with to repeal that Ordinance and Decree of theirs against the *Megarians*, and to be reconciled to them. Upon which account, since *Pericles* was the Man who mainly opposed it, and stirr'd up the People against them, continuing in the same peevish Humour to the last against those of *Megara*, He alone bore the blame, and was looked upon as the only Cause and Promoter of the War.

They say moreover, that Ambassadors went by Order from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens* about this very Business; and that, when *Pericles* pleaded against them a certain Law, which forbid the taking down the Tablet, wherein the Decree or publick Order was written, one of the Ambassadors, (1) *Polyarces* by Name, should say, *Well! do not take* This was a Law of his own making.

(1) *Thucydides* names three Ambassadors, *Rhamphius*, *Melesippus*, and *Agessander*, but makes not the least mention of *Polyarces*. He might probably be One of their Retinue; for it is certain the *Lacedæmonians* sent but one Embassy to *Athens* upon that Subject.

it down then, but turn the Tablet inward; for there is no Law, I suppose, which forbids That. This pretty turn of wit, which might have served for a handsome Expedient, had not the least Effect upon *Pericles* as to altering the Resolution he had taken against the *Megarians*.

There was then, in all likelihood, some secret Grudge and private Animosity, which he had against the *Megarians*. Yet He, upon the pretence of a publick and manifest Charge against them, as that they had cut down a holy Grove dedicated to the Gods, or imbezelled a piece of Ground consecrated to pious Uses, obtained an Order for sending an Herald to them, and the same Person to the *Lacedæmonians*, with an Accusation of Sacrilege against the *Megarians*. It is not to be denied but *Pericles* was the Author of this Order, which however contain'd nothing but Complaints full of Meekness and Humanity, and seem'd in Appearance to aim at nothing else but a friendly composure of all Differences. But *Anthemocritus* the Herald dying upon the Road, and it being suspected that the *Megarians* had a Hand in it, *Charinus* writes a Decree against them, that there should be an irreconcilable and implacable Enmity thenceforward betwixt the two Common-wealths; and that if any one of the *Megarians* should but set his Foot upon any part of the *Attick* Territories, he should be put to death: and that the Commanders, when they take the usual Oath, should, over and above That, swear that they will twice every year make an Inroad into the *Megarians* Country; and that *Anthemocritus* should be buried near the *Thriasian* Gates, which are now called the *Dipylon* or Double Gate.

On the other hand, the *Megarians* utterly denying and disowning the Murder of *Anthemocritus*, throw the whole business, and the guilt, if any, upon

upon *Aspasia* and *Pericles*: to which purpose they make use of those (1) famous and commonly known Verses out of a Play of *Aristophanes*, called the *Acharnes*:

*Youngsters of Athens went to Megara,
Mad-fuddle-caps, to keep blind Holiday,
And stole Simætha the Town-Whore away.*

*Nettled at this, Megarian Youths did plot
Reprisal, and to Town by stealth they got,
Where two Aspasian Harlots went to pot.*

The true Rise and Occasion of this War, what it might be, (2) is not so easy to find out. But that that Decree we mentioned, was not repeal'd and annul'd, All do alike charge *Pericles* with being the

(1) There is no Mention of the Death of the Herald in these Verses of *Aristophanes*. The *Megarians* quoted them only to give *Pericles* to understand that he was so offended at the Rape of *Aspasia's* two Courtizans, that in Revenge he contriv'd the Death of the Herald, who was to be dispatch'd in such a Manner, as might justify an Accusation of the *Megarians* as accessory to it, and so make Them the Object of the publick Resentment and Indignation. We do not find any Notice taken of this Herald in *Thucydides*, and yet it is so certain that the *Megarians* were look'd upon as the Authors of the Murder, that they were punish'd for it many Ages after; for on that Account the Emperor *Adrian* denied them that ease and relief which he had procured for the other Cities and People of *Greece*.

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By which it appears that it is the Interest of Communities, as well as private Persons, to be careful of their Reputation in all their Actions. The Tomb of this *Anthemocritus* was in the Holy Way leading to *Eleusis*.

(2) And yet it is not reasonable that the Scurrilities of Poets accustomed to Fiction, and the Calumnies of the People, who are always out of Humour with Those that have the Government of them, should have more Weight than the Writings of an Historian so grave and faithful as *Thucydides*, who was not only present that time at *Athens*, but had a nearer and more distinct View of what was passing, than could either the Poets have or the People. He takes no Notice of those paltry Accounts, but makes it appear that the only true and real Cause of the War

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the cause of that. (1) However there are Some who say that he did out of a great sense and height of Spirit stand it out stiffly, with a Resolution for the best; accounting that the Demand of the *Lacedæmonians* in behalf of the *Megarians*, was design'd for a tryal of their compliance, and that a Concession would be taken for a confession of Weakness, as if they durst not do otherwise. And Others there are who say that he did rather in an arrogant Bravado and a wilful humour of Contention, to shew his own Gallantry and Power, slight and set little by the *Lacedæmonians*.

But the weakest reason for entring into a War, and which is confirmed by most Witnesses, was this. *Phidias* the Statuary had, as hath before been said, undertaken to make the Statue of *Minerva*. Now he being familiarly acquainted with *Pericles*, and a great Favourite of his, had many Enemies upon his account, who envied and malign'd him: Who also to make tryal in a Case of his, what kind of Judges the Commons would prove, should there be occasion to bring *Pericles* himself before them, having tampered with *Menon* one who had wrought with *Phidias*, they place him

was the Jealousie the *Spartans* had conceived of the *Athenians*, which prompted them to make use of every Occasion to dispute with them the Empire of the Seas, and consequently of all Greece.

(1) This is *Thucydides* his Opinion, and is That which carries with it the greatest Appearance of Truth, when we consider the Character of *Pericles*, who had join'd to the Greatness of his Soul a consummate Prudence by which he cou'd foresee the Event of Actions. In Proof of This, we need only to read his Discourse to the *Athenians* upon this Subject, which

we find in the first Book of *Thucydides*: Let none of you imagine, saith he, that you are going to War for a Trifle, or retain a Scruple in your Minds as if a small Matter moved You to it. On this small Matter depends Your Safety, and the Reputation of your Constancy and Resolution. If you yield to 'em in This, their next Demand will be something of a higher Nature; for having once experienc'd your Fear, they will think you dare deny them nothing; whereas a stiff Denial in this Instance will teach them to treat with you hereafter upon Terms of Equality.

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in the Court with a Petition, desiring publick Security upon his Discovery and Impeachment of *Phidias* for things done by him against the State. The People admitting of the man to tell his Story, and the Prosecution being agreed upon in the Assembly, there was nothing of Theft or Cheat proved against him. For *Phidias* had immediately from the very beginning so wrought and wrapt the Gold that was used in the Work, about the Statue, and that by the Advice of *Pericles*, (1) that they might take it all off, and make out the just weight of it; which *Pericles* also at that time bad the Accusers to do.

But the Glory and Reputation of his Work was that which burden'd *Phidias*, and crush'd him with Envy; (2) especially that work of His in which he represents the Fight of the *Amazons* upon the Goddess's Shield; He had there express'd a kind of Figure or Resemblance of himself, like a bald old Man, holding aloft a great Stone with both Hands; and had put in a very fine Picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon*. And the fashion and posture of the Hand, which held out the Spear over-against *Pericles* his Face, was with that curious Art contrived, as if it meant to hide the like-

(1) In those Days they were unacquainted with the Method found out long after by *Archimedes*, whereby one cou'd certainly determine upon the Quantity, and the Weight of Gold employ'd in any Work with other Metals, without being at the trouble of separating them.

(2) They pretended that those modern Figures of *Pericles* and *Phidias* destroyed the Credit of the antient History, which did so much Honour to *Athens*, and their Founder *Theseus*. This Figure of

Phidias represented in the Fight of the *Amazons*, has given Occasion to a remarkable Passage in *Aristotle's* Treatise *de Mundo*, if He be the Author of it. It is said that *Phidias*, who made the Statue of *Minerva* in the Citadel, inter-wrought his own Figure so artificially in the middle of the Buckler of the Goddess, and with an imperceptible Art incorporated it with the whole Composition in such a manner that it was impossible to remove it without destroying the Statue entirely.

ness, which yet sufficiently shew'd itself on either side.

Well! poor *Phidias* was carried away to Prison, and (1) there died of Sickness, but Some say of Poison, to raise a Slander or a Suspicion at least upon *Pericles*, tho' it were by the Procurement and Preparation of his Enemies.

As to the Informer *Menon*, upon *Glycon's* proposal, the People made him free from Payment of Taxes and Customs, and ordered the Military Officers to take care of his safety, so that nobody might do him any harm.

About this time *Aspasia* was indicted of Impiety or Irreligion, upon the Complaint of *Hermippus* a Writer of Comedies, who also laid further to her Charge, that she was Bawd to *Pericles*, and entertained Citizens Wives and Daughters for his use. And *Diopithes* proposed a Decree, that Information should be given in against such Persons as deny a Deity, and Those who teach or make Discourses concerning Meteors and other Appearances in the Sky; by these last Words aiming in show at *Anaxagoras*, but really striking at *Pericles*.

The People receiving and admitting all Accusations and Complaints, they came, at last, to enact a Decree, at the motion of *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* should bring in the Account of the Monies he had expended, and lodge them with the *Prytanes*, the Magistrates and Judges of the Treasury; and that the Judges, (2) after having given their Suffra-

(1) Others say he was banish'd, and that after this Disgrace he made the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*.

(2) This Method was of great Service to *Pericles*, when the religious solemnity of the Action cou'd not but be an awe upon the Majority of the Judges. We meet with another Instance of this Cu-

stom of balloting in this manner on Billets taken from the Altar. But This was never put in practice but on extraordinary Occasions, when it was necessary to intimate to the Judges, that they were not to be influenc'd by Favour or Affection, but to determine according to the nicest rules of Justice.

ges inscrib'd on Billets taken from the Altar, should examine and finally determine the Business in the City. This last Article indeed *Agnon* took out of the Decree, but moved that the Cause should be referred to the Judgment of the 1500, (that is 50 out of each Tribe) who were to decide whether the Action was to be laid for *Rapine* and *Plunder*, or under the general Name of *Injustice*.

As to *Aspasia*, *Pericles* made shift to beg her off, having shed abundance of Tears at the Tryal, as *Æschines* makes the Relation, and besought the Judges in her behalf. But fearing how it might go with *Anaxagoras*, he sent him away, and brought him onward on his way out of the City. And whereas he had in *Phidias* his Case miscarried, and found the People averse to him, being afraid of a Court of Judges, he set Fire to the War, which hitherto had lingred and smothered, and blew it up into a Flame; hoping by that means to scatter those Mists of Impeachments which they were raising against him, and to lower that Envy which hung over him; the City usually throwing herself upon Him alone, and trusting to his sole Conduct, upon the urgency of great Affairs and publick Dangers, by reason of his Authority and the Sway he bore.

And These are given out to have been the Causes, for which *Pericles* would not suffer the People of *Athens* to comply with the *Lacedæmonians*, or yield to their Proposals. However the Truth of it, whether it were so or no, cannot be well known.

The *Lacedæmonians* for their part having an assurance, that if they could once pull him down and remove him out of the way, they might be at what Terms they pleased with the *Athenians*, they sent them Word, that they should expiate and drive out from among them that horrid Crime (meaning the Pollution of *Cylon*) wherewith the Kindred of

Pericles on the Mother's side were tainted, as *Thucydides* hath told the Story. But the Business proved quite contrary to what Those who sent this Message expected. For instead of bringing *Pericles* under a Suspicion and a Reproach, they brought him into a far greater Credit and Esteem with his Citizens, as a Man whom their Enemies did most mightily hate and fear. Wherefore before *Archidamus*, who was at the Head of the *Peloponnesians*, made his Incursion upon *Attica*, *Pericles* told the *Athenians* beforehand, that if *Archidamus*, while he laid waste and made havock of every thing else in the Country, should forbear and spare his Estate he had there, either upon pretence of some Friendship, or Right of Hospitality, that was betwixt them (as having been one another's Guests at some time or other) or out of purpose to give his Enemies an occasion of traducing and speaking Evil of him, that then he did freely bestow upon the State all that his Land and Houses in the Country, to be employ'd in the publick Use and Service.

Well, the *Lacedæmonians*, together with their Allies, come with a great Army, and invade the *Athenian* Territories, under the Conduct of King *Archidamus*; and laying waste the Country, march'd on as far as (1) *Acharnae*, and there pitch'd their Camp; presuming that the *Athenians* would never endure that, but would come out and fight them for their Country's and their Honour's sake. But *Pericles* look'd upon it as a dangerous Adventure, to ingage in Battel, were it in defence of the City itself, against threescore thousand armed Men of *Peloponnesians* and *Bæotians*; for so many they were in number, that made the Inroad at first: And he endeavoured to appease Those, who were desirous to fight,

(1) The Burrough of *Acharnae* | Men as its quota for the publick
was one of the largest in *Attica*, | Service. It lay about 1500 Paces
for That alone supply'd 3000 | from the City.

and were griev'd and discontented to see how things went, and gave them good Words, saying, That *Trees when they are lopt and cut, grow up again in short time, but Men being once lost cannot easily be recover'd.*

He did not convene the People into an Assembly, for fear they should force him from his own Resolution, or drive him beside his own Purpose: But as a skilful Steers-man or Pilot of a Ship, who, when a Storm ariseth, or a sudden gust of Wind sets hard at Sea, having put all things on board to rights and fitted his Tackle, makes use of his Art of Navigation, and minds only the Business of the Ship, without regarding the Tears and Intreaties of the Sea-sick and fearful Passengers: so *Pericles* having shut up the City-gates, and placed Guards at all Posts for security, made use of his own Reasons and Purposes, little regarding Those that bawl'd out against him, and were angry at his Management. Altho' there were a great many of his Friends that lay hard at him, requesting him to do otherwise, and many of his Enemies threatening and accusing him for doing as he did; and Many made Ballads, and Lampoons, and Libels upon him, which were sung about Town to his Disgrace, reproaching his Generalship for being cowardly, and throwing up tamely or treacherously all their Concerns into the Enemies Hands.

And (1) *Cleon* also, having got into Credit and Favour with the People so as to set up for a Demagogue, and seeing how the Citizens were displeased with him, was one of those that insulted him; as *Hermippus* hath made it appear in these *Anapæsts* of his, a kind of Comick or Lyrick Verses:

(1) The same *Cleon* with Him | ons of the People, that in Time
that was so roughly handled by | he became General of the *Athe-*
Aristophanes. He so well knew | *nians*.
how to impose upon the Affecti-

* A Man of
great Repu-
tation a-
mong them
for his Cou-
rage.

Why, (1) King of Satyrs, dost thou fear
To wield the Sword, or toss the Spear;
Content to talk big Words of War;

Speaking as * Tele's Soul possessest
The Cavern of thy Coward Breast?

But nothing can on Thee prevail:

The Whetstone sharpens blunted Swords,

Cleon throws out provoking Words;

But Thou canst bear, as long as He can rail.

However *Pericles* was not at all moved by any of these Practices, but took all patiently, and in silence underwent the Disgrace they threw upon him, and the Ill-will they bore him. And sending out a Fleet of a hundred Sail to *Peloponnesus*, he did not go along with it in Person, but staid behind, that he might look after home and keep the City in order, 'till the *Peloponnesians* should break up Camp and be gone. Yet to court and carest the common People, who were jaded and in disorder on account of the War, he reliev'd and refresh'd them with Distributions of publick Monies, and made a Law for the Division of Lands by Lot, and the Plantation of Colonies. For having turn'd out all the People of *Ægina*, he parted the Island among the *Athenians*, according as their Lot fell.

And it was some comfort to them and ease in their Miseries, that their Enemies were Sufferers as well as themselves. For they in the Fleet sailed round the *Peloponnesse*, ravaged a great deal of the Country, and pillaged and plundered the Towns and smaller Cities: (2) And *Pericles* in Person made an Incurſion into the Territories of the *Megarians*, where he laid all in Ruins. By which means it appears, that the *Peloponnesians*, tho' they did the
Athe-

(1) *Hermippus* calls *Pericles* King of Satyrs, by reason of his Debauches. It is not to be believ'd that *Pericles* could be so imprudent as to

(2) Here *Plutarch* is mistaken. quit the City whilst the *Lacedaemonians*

Athenians a world of Mischief by Land, yet suffering as much themselves from them by Sea, would not have drawn out the War to such a length, but would quickly have given it over, as *Pericles* at first foretold they would, had not some Divine Power crost human Purposes.

Now in the first place there was a pestilential Disease or Murrain, that seiz'd upon the City, and ate up all the Flower and Prime of their Youth and Strength. And it had this further ill Effect, that it not only affected their Bodies, but also their Minds too, in such a manner as to set them entirely against *Pericles*; and as Patients grown delirious in a high Fever use to behave themselves toward their Physician, or be it their Father, so they were ready to fall foul upon him and do him a Mischief. For it had been buzz'd in their Ears by his Enemies, as if he were in the fault, persuading them that the occasion of the Plague was the crouding of so many Country People together into the City; in that they were forced now in the Summer time in the heat of the weather to dwell a great many of them together in pitiful little Tenements and sultry Hovels, enough to stifle them; and to be tied to a lazy course of Life within doors, when-as before they used Exercise and lived in a pure, open and free Air. *The Cause and Author of all this*, said they, *is He, who upon the account of the War hath poured a multitude of People from the Country in upon us within the Walls, and puts so many Men as he has here upon no employ or service, but keeps them pent up like Cattel in a Pound, and lets them be over-run with Infection from one another, affording them neither shift of Quarters, nor any Refreshment.*

monians remain'd in *Attica*. He tells us, that the *Athenian Fleet* did not enter upon this Expedition was return'd from the *Peloponnesus* 'till the Beginning of Autumn, to *Ægina*, and that the Soldiers on when they were withdrawn. The Board were sent to join the Land Truth of This particularly appears Army. from *Thucydides*, who expressly

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He designing to remedy these things, and withal to do the Enemy some Inconvenience, got a hundred and fifty Sail of Ships ready, and fill'd them with Men: and having embarked many stout Soldiers, both Foot and Horse, was about to weigh Anchor, giving great Incouragement of hope to his Citizens, and no less an Alarm of fear to his Enemies, upon the sight of so great a Force. And now the Vessels having their complement of Men, and *Pericles* being gone aboard the Admiral his own Galley, it happened that the Sun was in an Eclipse, and it grew dark on a sudden, to the extreme Affrightment of them all, looking upon it as a dismal Token, and an unlucky ill-boding Omen. Wherefore *Pericles* perceiving the Pilot or Steersman seiz'd with a great Fear, and at a stand what to do, he took his Cloak and put it before the Man's Face, and muffling him up in it so that he could not see, he asked him if That appear'd so terrible to him, and if he drew any ill Omen from it. He answering, No; *Why*, said he, *and what difference can you make between the one and the other, unless it be that what causes the Eclipse, is bigger than a Cloak?* But these are things fit to be discoursed in the Schools of Philosophy.

Well, *Pericles*, after he had put out to Sea, as he seems not to have done any other Exploit befitting such an Apparade and Equipage; so when he had laid Siege to the holy City *Epidaurus*, which he flatter'd himself could not hold out long against him, he miscarried in his Design by reason of (1) Distempers with which his Army was infected. For it did not only seize upon the *Athenians* and de-

(1) As if *Esculapius* had a mind to revenge himself upon them, for presuming to besiege a City sacred to Him, and for that Reason sent the Plague among them; but *Thucydides* makes no mention of this Sickness, but saith on the contrary that after *Pericles* had miscarried before *Epidaurus*, he was also baffled at *Trezene*, *Hermione*, and elsewhere, and that the only Exploit he perform'd, was the taking of *Prusia* a maritime Town in *Latonia*.

stroy them, but also without any difference any others that upon any occasion mix'd with them, or had ought to do in the Army, it carried them off too for company.

After this finding that the *Athenians* were very ill-affected towards and highly displeased with him, he tried and indeavoured what he could to appease them by giving them good Words, and to recover the Confidence they once had in him. But he could not allay their Anger, nor persuade them to any thing, nor prevail with them in ought, till they had pass'd their Votes upon him, and by taking the staff into their own hands had taken away his Command from him, and fined him in a round sum of Money; which by their Account who say least, was fifteen Talents, and they who reckon most Fifty. Now He who was set down at his Tryal to be his Accuser, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus* tells us; but *Simmias*, according to *Theophrastus*; and *Heracledes Ponticus* has named *Lacratidas* for the Man.

But the publick Heats and Animosity soon came to Repose, the Commonalty having left their Spleen and Passion (as Wasps do their Sting) in the Wound they had given him: But his domestick Concerns were in a melancholly condition, he having lost not a few of his Friends and Acquaintance in the Plague, and those of his Family having long since been in disorder and in a kind of mutiny against him. For the eldest of his lawfully-begotten Sons, *Xanthippus* by name, being both by nature given to Expence, and marrying a young Wife, and one that loved an expensive manner of Life as well as himself, the Daughter of *Isander*, (who was the Son of *Epylicus*) was highly offended at his Father's niggardly thrift, who gave him but a scanty bare Allowance, by little and little at a time. Wherefore he sent to a Friend one day, and borrowed some Money of him, in his Father *Pericles's* name, pre-

pretending it was by his Order. But the Man coming afterward to demand the Debt, *Pericles* was so far from yielding to pay it, that he arrested the Man, and enter'd an Action against him. Upon which the young Man *Xanthippus* thought himself so heinously used and highly disobliged, that he openly reviled his Father.

And first by way of Droll and Raillery, he ridiculed him by telling Stories of his Carriage and Conversation at home, and of Discourses he had with the Sophisters that came to his House. As for instance, how a Wrestler having one day, during the publick Sports, by chance killed with a Javelin a Horse belonging to *Epitimus* the *Pharsalian*, (1) his Father spent a whole Day with *Protagoras* in a serious Dispute, whether the Javelin, or the Man that threw it, or the *Agonothetæ*, that is Those who appointed these Sports, were, according to the strictest and best reason, to be accounted the cause of this Mischance or Horse-slaughter. Further, *Stesimbrotus* tells us, that it was *Xanthippus* himself, who spread among the People that infamous Story concerning his own Wife, how his Father should make him a Cuckold: and that this untoward grudge of the young Man's against his Father, and unnatural breach betwixt them, which was never to be healed or made up, continued with him, till his very dying Day. *Xanthippus* died of the Plague, as did likewise *Pericles's*

(1) A Problem worthy the Consideration of a General, and the first Man in the State! But it is highly improbable that a Person of *Pericles* his Character cou'd in that manner give into the Fooleries of a Sophist. It is more likely to be an Invention of his Son's, on purpose to expose him for his Inclination to Philosophy, as *Aristophanes* in the second Scene of the first Act of his *Clouds* reproacheth So-

crates for having curiously examined with *Cairephon*, how many of her own Feet a Flea took at a Skip. This *Protagoras* was the most errant Sophist of his Time, he imposed upon Greece for above forty Years, and amass'd more Wealth by his Sophistry, than *Phidias* and ten Statuaries more cou'd do by their excellent Performances. The Reader may find more on this Subject in *Plato's* Dialogues.

Sister,

Sister, and the greatest part of his Kinsfolks and Friends, and Those who had been most useful and serviceable to him in managing the Affairs of State. However, he did not shrink or give out upon these occasions, nor lower his high Spirit, the greatness of his Mind still appearing under all the Misfortunes and Calamities which befel him. Nay, so unconcern'd and so great a Master of his Passions he was, at least seem'd to be, that he was never known to weep or to mourn, or pay the Funeral Rites to any of his dead Friends, nor was so much as seen at the Burial of any of his Relations, 'till at last he lost the only Son which was left of those who were lawfully begotten, his Son *Paralus*. This touch'd him home, and made him bow and relent; and yet he striv'd what he could to maintain his Principle of Gravity, and to preserve and keep up the Greatness of his Soul. But all would not do: for when he came to perform the Ceremony of putting a Garland or Chaplet of Flowers upon the Head of the Corps, he was vanquished by his Passion at the sight, so that he burst out a crying, and pour'd forth abundance of Tears, having never done any such thing in all the rest of his Life before.

After all, the City having made tryal of other Generals for the Conduct of War, and Orators for the Business of State, when They found there was no one who was of weight enough to counterbalance such a Charge, or of Authority sufficient to be trusted with so great a Command; then they began to desire their old Friend and Servant *Pericles*, and solemnly inviting him to the Tribunal or *Prætorium*, intreated him to accept once more of the Office of General or Commander in chief. He was then in a very pensive Condition, and kept in at home, as a close Mourner; but was persuaded by *Alcibiades* and other of his Friends, to come abroad, and shew himself to the People: Who having upon
his

his Appearance made their Acknowledgments, and apologized for their Ingratitude and untowardly Usage of him, he undertook the Publick Affairs once more, and being chosen *Prætor* or chief Governor, he brought in a Bill (1) that the Statute concerning Bastard-Issue, which he himself had formerly caused to be made, might be repealed; that so his Name and Family might not, for want of a lawful Heir to succeed, be wholly lost and extinguished.

Now the business of that Statute or Law stood thus. *Pericles*, when long ago he flourished in the State, and had (as has been said) Children lawfully begotten, proposed a Law, That those only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were born of such Parents as were both *Athenians*. After this the King of *Ægypt* having sent to the Commons, by way of Present, forty thousand Bushels of Wheat, which were to be distributed and shared out among the Citizens, there sprung up a great many Actions and Suits against Bastards, by vertue of that Edict, which 'till that time had not been known, nor taken notice of; and several Persons besides were trapann'd and insnar'd by false Accusations. There were little less than five thousand who were caught in this State-trap, and having lost the Freedom of the City were sold for Slaves; and those who induring the Test remained in the Government, and past muster for right *Athenians*, were found upon the Poll to be fourteen thousand and forty Persons in number.

(1) It was not the Love of his Country which had induced *Pericles* to obtain that Law to be pass'd, but his Hatred to *Cimon*, by which he was instigated to get the Names of his Children out of the City Register: but when a Turn of Fortune had sufficiently

punish'd him for his Inflexibility, then his Tenderness for his own Family, and the Fear he had lest his Name shou'd be extinct, got the better of his Hatred and Animosity. He got that Law repealed in favour of an illegitimate Son.

Now tho' it look'd somewhat odd and strange, that a Law, which had been carried on so far against so many People, should be broken and cancelled again by the same Man that made it; yet the present Calamity and Distress, which *Pericles* labour'd under as to his Family, broke through all Objections, and prevail'd with the *Athenians* to pity him, as one who by those Losses and Misfortunes had sufficiently been punished for his former Arrogance and Haughtiness. And therefore being of Opinion, that he had been severely handled by Divine Vengeance, from which he had suffer'd so much, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant; they yielded that he should inroll his Bastard-Son in the Register of his own Ward by his paternal Name. This very Son of his afterward, when he had defeated the *Peloponnesians* in a Sea-fight near the Islands called *Arginusæ*, was (1) condemn'd to die, as were the other Officers his Collegues in that Commission.

About that time, when his Son was inroll'd, it should seem, the Plague seiz'd *Pericles*, not with sharp and violent Fits, as it did others that had it, but with a dull and lingring Progress, through various Changes and Alterations, leisurely by little and little wasting the strength of his Body, and undermining the noble Faculties of his Soul. So that *Theophrastus* in his *Morals*, having made a moot-point, Whether Mens Manners change with

(1) The *Athenians* had appointed ten Commanders on that Occasion. After they had obtain'd the Victory they were tryed, and Sentence of Death was pronounced against Eight of them, of whom six that were upon the Spot were executed, and this Bastard Son of *Pericles* was one of them. The

only Crime laid to their Charge, was, that they had not buried the Dead. *Xenophon* has given a large Account of this Transaction in his *Grecian History*. The Engagement happen'd under the Archonship of *Callias*, the 2d Year of the 93d *Olympiad*, 24 Years after the Death of *Pericles*.

their Fortunes, and their Souls being jogg'd and disturb'd by the Ailings of their Bodies do start aside from the rules of Virtue; hath left it upon Record, that *Pericles*, when he was sick, shew'd one of his Friends that came to visit him an Amulet or Charm, that the Women had hung about his Neck; as much as to say, that he was very sick indeed, when he would admit of or indure such a Foolery as that was.

When he was drawing near his End, the best of the Citizens, and those of his Friends who were left alive, sitting about him, were discoursing of his Virtue and Authority, how great it was, and were reckoning up his famous Actions and Achievements, and the number of his Victories; for there were no less than nine Trophies, which he as their chief Commander and Conqueror of their Enemies had set up for the Honour of the City and State. These things they talk'd of together among themselves, as though he did not understand or mind what they said, but had been utterly bereft of his Senses. But he had listned all the while, and given good heed to all the Passages of their Discourse; and speaking out to them said, that *he wonder'd they should commend and take notice of those things in him, which were as much owing to Fortune as to any thing else, and had happen'd to many other Captains in former Times as well as to Him; and that at the same time they should omit to mention what tended much more to his Honour and Reputation. For, said he, there was never any of all my Fellow-Citizens that ever wore Black, or put on Mourning, upon my account; meaning that he had not in all his Government been the Cause of any one's Death, either by ordering or procuring it.*

A brave Man, a wonderful great Personage, without all peradventure! not only upon the account of his gentle Behaviour and mild Temper, which all
along

along in the many affairs of his Life, and those shrewd Animosities which lay upon him, he constantly kept up and maintain'd, but also of his generous great Spirit and high Sentiment, that he esteem'd That to be the best of all his good Qualities, that having been in such an absolute uncontrollable Power, as he had been, he never had gratified his Envy, or his Passion in any thing to another Man's hurt, nor ever had treated any Enemy of his, as if he were incurable, that is, unconcileable, and one who in time might not become a Friend. And to me it appears that this one thing of him did make that otherwise childish and arrogant Title they gave him, in nicknaming him *Olympius* (that is, the Heavenly or Godlike) (1) to be without Envy, and truly becoming him; I mean his kind and courteous Carriage, and a pure and untainted behaviour in the height of Power and Place.

For this Reason we account, and esteem the Gods, who in their own Natures are the Source and Fountain of all that is Good, and cannot possibly be the Authors of Evil, (2) to be very justly the Kings and Governours of the Universe; not as they are represented to us by the Poets, who on purpose to distract our Minds, and to instil false Notions

(1) It were to be wish'd that all Princes who shall have the Curiosity to read these Lives, wou'd give due Attention to this Passage, and be thoroughly perswaded of this Truth, that Clemency, Tenderness, and Humanity are the only Means of obtaining that distinguish'd Appellation or Character of *Olympian*, that is *Divine*, for therein only can they resemble the Deity.

(2) God is no less Governor of the Universe in the Execution of

his Justice, than he is in the Exercise of his Goodness, And yet it is true we pay our first Homage to him on account of that infinite Goodness, which had prepar'd his Blessings for us even before he had created us. In like manner Kings, who in Imitation of God, whose Image they are, tho' they bear the Sword for the Punishment of evil Doers, are term'd in Scripture *Benefactors*, but are never call'd *Punishers* or *Avengers*.

into us by their chimerical Inventions, stuff their Writings with manifest Absurdities and Contradictions; for in their Description of the Seat where they say the Gods make their abode, they call it indeed a secure and quiet Seat, free from all Hazards and Commotions, not troubled with Winds, nor darkned with Clouds; but at all times alike shining round about with a soft Serenity and a pure Light, inasmuch as such a temper'd Station is most agreeable and suitable for a blessed and immortal Nature to live in: and yet in the mean while they do affirm that the Gods themselves are (1) full of Trouble, and Enmity, and Anger, and other Passions, which no way become or belong even to Men that have any understanding. But this will perhaps seem a Subject fitter for some other Consideration, and that ought to be treated of in some other place.

Well! (2) the Success of publick Affairs after *Pericles* his death did beget a quick and speedy sense of his Loss, and the desire of such a Conduct as

(1) It is true that this Tranquility of the Place, when compar'd to the Trouble and Division, which is said to prevail among the Gods that inhabit it, looks at first sight to be very surprizing and contradictory. This Censure falls upon *Homer*, who has given us such a Description of Heaven in his 6th Book of the *Odyssey*, and has at the same time painted the Gods in the Colours represented here by *Plutarch*. But This is taking that great Poet too strictly in a literal Sense. No one will go about to justify his Theology, which is monstrous in an infinite Number of Instances. And yet it is not reasonably to be believ'd that a Writer of such great Judgment as he certainly was, did not

know in what Sense his Fictions literally consider'd wou'd be taken. But they contain another Sense, purely allegorical, as may be made appear in a multitude of Places. Besides, under these ingenious Fictions, he has represented to us the Condition of the greatest number of Kings and Princes. Their Palaces appear the Residence of Repose, Tranquility, and Delight, whilst they themselves are distracted with Anxiety, Hate, Anger, and Revenge, and have their Minds agitated by the Gust of every Passion.

(2) This will appear in the Lives of *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lysander*. *Pericles* died in the 3d Year of the *Peloponnesian* War, that is the last Year of the 87th Olympiad.

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his had been. For Those who, while he lived, ill resented his great Authority, as That which eclipsed Them and darkned their Lights, presently after his quitting the Stage making tryal of other Orators and Demagogues, did readily acknowledge that there never had been in Nature such a Disposition as His was, either more moderate and reasonable in the height of that State he took upon him, or more grave and solemn in the Methods of that Mildness which he used. And that invidious pretended Arbitrary Power, about which they made such a noise, and formerly gave it the Name of Monarchy and Tyranny, did then appear to have been the chief Rampart and Bulwark of Safety, which the Government and Commonwealth had. So great a Corruption, and such abundance of wicked Ill-humours did get into publick Affairs after his Death, which He, by keeping them weak and low, did cover and disguise from being much taken notice of, and by curbing of them did hinder them from growing incurable through a licentious Impunity.





THE
LIFE
OF
FABIUS MAXIMUS.



HAVING related the memorable Actions of *Pericles*, let us now proceed to the Life of *Fabius*. (1) It is said, that *Hercules* falling in Love with a Nymph, or as Some say with a Woman of that Country near the Banks of the *Tiber*, had by her the first *Fabius*, from whom is descended the Family of the *Fabii*, (2) one of the most numerous, and powerful in *Rome*. O-

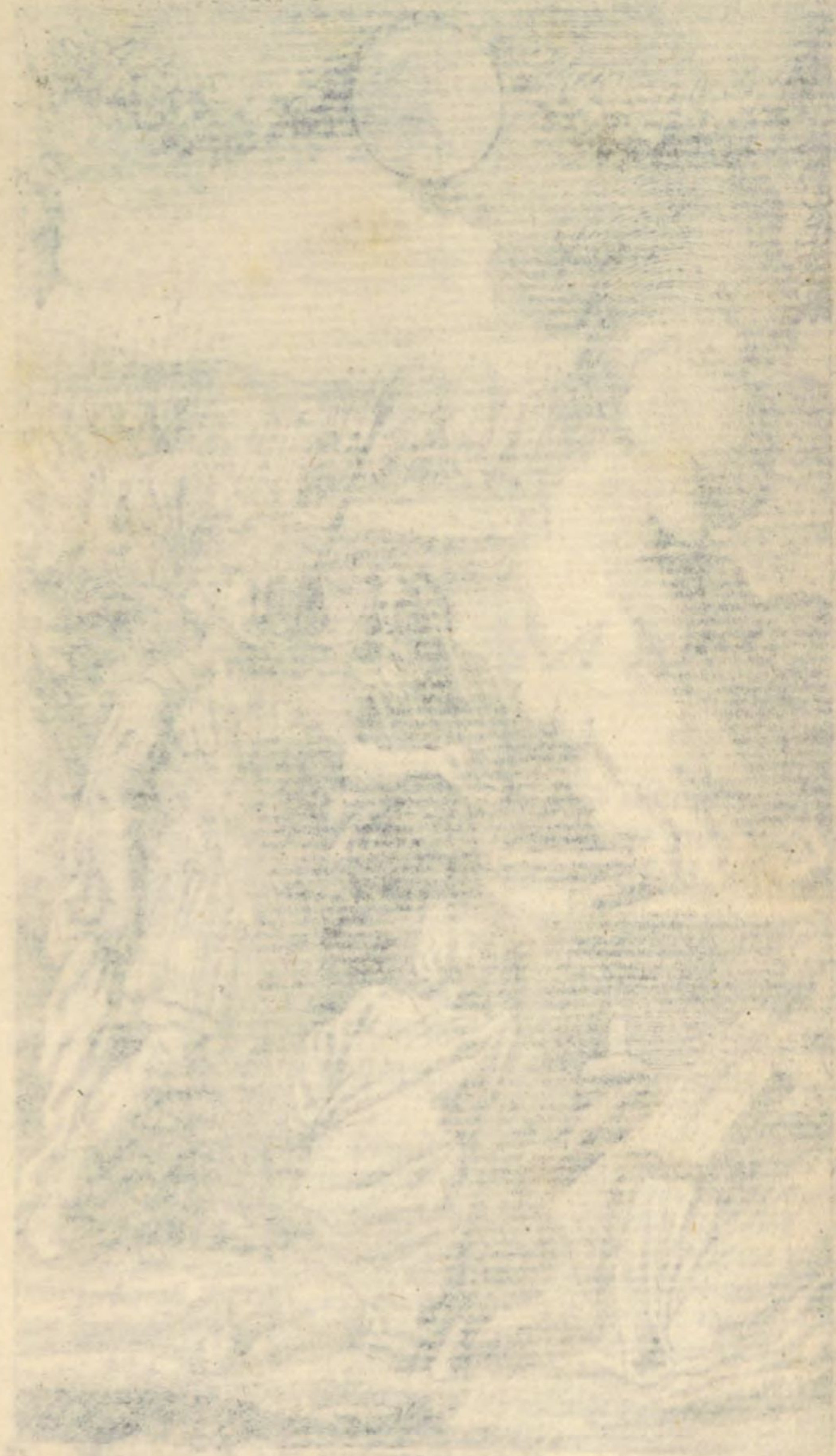
(1) According to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, *Hercules* had but two Children in *Italy*, One named *Pel-las*, by a Daughter of *Evander*, and Another called *Latinus*, by an *Hyperborean* Woman, whom he had brought with him into those Parts.

(2) The most numerous, for that Family alone undertook the War against the *Veii*, and sent out against them 300 Persons all of

their own Name, who were all but one slain in the Service. It was likewise the most powerful, for it had enjoy'd the highest Dignities in the Commonwealth. There were some of the *Fabii*, who had been seven times Consuls. Instead of πολὺ in the Text, there is a Manuscript wherein it is written πολὺανδρον.

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thers will have it, that they were first called (1) *Fodians*, because when they went out a hunting their way was to catch their Game in Traps and Pit-falls; for to this Day the *Romans* call a Pit-fall *Fovea*; and that in process of time, and by corruption of Language, they grew to be called *Fabians*. But these things be they true or false, certain it is, that this Family hath for a long time yielded great store of eminent Persons; our *Fabius*, who was fourth in descent from that (2) *Fabius Rullus*, or *Rutilianus*, who first brought the Honourable Sirname of *Maximus* into his Family, was also by way of Nick-name called *Verrucosus*, from a Wart on his upper Lip; and in his Childhood they in like manner named Him *Ovicula*, by reason of his extream Mildness of nature. His slowness in Speaking, his long labour and pains in Learning, his little concern in the Sports and Divertisements of his Equals, his easy submission to every Body, as if he had no Will of his own, made Those who judged superficially of him (the number of which sort of Judges is always the greatest) esteem him insensible and stupid; and few were They, who could penetrate into the firmness of his Courage and greatness of his Mind. But as soon as he came into

(1) *Festus* saith they were called *Fovii*, à *Fovea*, and assigns two Reasons for it, which the Reader may find under the Word *Fovii*. But why should we not rather believe with *Pliny*, that they were called *Fabii*, à *Fabis*, from their Skill in raising Beans? as were the *Lentuli* and *Ciceros*, so called from Pease and Lentils, *jama Fabiorum, Lentulorum, Ciceronum, ut quisque aliquod optimè genus sekeret.* lib. 18. cap. 3. This agrees with the Simplicity of those times, when Agriculture was the principal Occupation of a Hero.

(2) This *Fabius* was five times Consul, and obtained several important Victories over the *Samnites*, *Tuscan*s and other Nations. But it was not those memorable Actions that acquir'd to him the Sirname of *Maximus*, which was given him, because when he was Censor he reduced the whole Populace of *Rome* into four Tribes, who before were dispersed among all the Tribes in general, and lorded it by their Numbers in the Assemblies. These Tribes were called *Tribus urbana*. Liv. ix. 46.

Employments, his Virtues exerted and shewed themselves ; what had passed for Stupidity and Insolence, did then appear to be a becoming Gravity ; what for Fear or Cowardice, the Effect of a Consummate Prudence, which kept him from determining hastily ; what for Slowness in seeing what was fit to be done, and Obstinacy in Opinion, for a Constancy and Firmness of Mind that was not to be shaken.

Fabius, considering that the Grandeur of *Rome* had its rise from Military Virtue, and was by the same Means to be preserved, did therefore inure his Body to Labour and Exercise, wisely judging that natural Strength was the best Armor : He also trained himself in the Art of speaking and persuading ; for Words and Discourses are the Engines, by which Minds are moved. And he attained to such a kind of Eloquence, that his manner of speaking and of acting was perfectly the same : for tho' it had not much of Ornament, nor Artifice, yet there was in it great weight of Sense ; it was strong and sententious, much after the way of *Thucydides*. (1) We have yet extant his Funeral Oration upon the Death of his Son, who died Consul, which he recited before the People.

He was five times Consul, (2) and in his first Consulship had the Honour of a Triumph for the Victory

(1) *Tully* makes mention of this Oration in his Book *de Consolatione*, and calls it *insignem Ingenii, judicii, ordinis Præstantiâ*: Admirable for its Wit, Judgment and Order. But *Fabius* must have been very old when he made it, for his Son was created Consul only ten Years before the Death of his Father.

(2) *Fabius's* first Consulship happened in the 521st Year from

the Foundation of *Rome*, in which he had *Man. Pomponius Matho* for his Colleague, as may be seen in the *Fasti*, and in *Zonaras* ; and forasmuch as the *Ligurians* and *Sardinians* had revolted at the Instigation, of the *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* was sent against the *Ligurians*, and *Pomponius* against the *Sardinians*. They Both returned victorious, and received their Triumphs. *Zonaras* saith, that in Resentment to

Victory he gained upon the *Ligurians*, whom he defeated in a set Battel, and forced them to take shelter in the *Alps*, from whence they never after made any Inrode, nor Depredations upon their Neighbours. (1) After this *Hannibal* came into *Italy*, who at his first Entrance having gained a great Battel near the River *Trebia*, travers'd all *Tuscany* with his victorious Army, and desolating the Country round about, filled *Rome* it self with Asto-

to the *Carthaginians*, who had been the Authors of those Wars, they sent to demand the Money due to them in Virtue of an Article contained in the Treaty at the End of the first *Punick* War; and to require them to quit all the Islands as of Right belonging to the *Romans*; and that they might the more openly declare their Intentions, with Respect to Peace or War, they caused a Pike and a Caduceus to be presented to them, that they might take their Choice. The *Carthaginians* reply'd they would chuse neither; but the *Romans* might leave which of the Two they pleased behind them, and they would receive it very willingly. Thus the Ambassadors returned to *Rome* without concluding any thing, both the one side and the Other expecting a Renewal of the War. *Aulus Gellius Lib. X. c. 27.* tells us much the same thing touching this Embassy, and adds, that *Fabius* was the Person that sent it to *Carthage*. *Fabius's* second Consulate was in the Year of *Rome* 526, wherein he had for his Collegue *Spurius Carvilius Ruga*, as may be seen in the *Fasti*, in *Zonaras*, and *Tully de senectute*. This was ten Years before *Hannibal's* Descent into *Italy*. His third Consulate

was in the fourth Year of the second *Punick* War, and 539 of *Rome*. His Companion was *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, whose Collegue was to have been *L. Postumius Albinus*; but *Albinus* dying before he had entered into his Office, *Claudius Marcellus* was chosen in his Stead; and forasmuch as the Election of *Marcellus* was found to have some Flaws in it, *Fabius Maximus* was substituted in his Place. *Liv. Lib. xxiii.* His fourth Consulate was the Year following, when he had *Marcellus*, who was then for the third time Consul, for his Collegue, as it appears elsewhere in *Plutarch* and in *Livy*. To conclude, *Fabius's* Fifth Consulate was in the tenth Year of the second *Punick* War, and 545th of *Rome*, having *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the fourth time Consul, for his Collegue. It was during that Consulate that *Fabius* took *Tarentum*, as we find it in *Livy, L. xxvii.*

(1) Here *Plutarch* leaves a Void of fifteen Years; for *Hannibal* entered into *Italy* under the Consulate of *Scipio* and *Sempronius*, the third Year of the 140th Olympiad, the 535th of *Rome*, and 516 before the Commencement of the Christian *Æra*,

nishment and Terror. Besides unusual Thunder and Lightning then hapning, the report of several ill-boding Portents did much increase this popular Consternation. For it was said, that some Targets did sweat Blood; that at *Antium*, when they reap'd their Corn, many of the Ears were filled with Blood; that it had rained Fire; that the *Phalerians* had seen the Heavens open, (1) and several

(1) It seems to me as if *Plutarch* had misunderstood *Livy*, who mentions two different Prodigies. These are his Words. *Lib. XXII. Faleriis Cœlum findi visum velut magno Hiatu, quaque patuerit, ingens Lumen effulsisse: Sortes suâ sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita Scriptam, Mavorstelum suum concutit. At Phalerium the Sky was seen to cleave as into a great Gap, from whence streamed a great Body of Light. The oraculous Lots shrunk of their own Accord, and One of them drop'd down, whereon was written, Mars brandisheth his Sword. Out of these two Prodigies Plutarch has made but One. These Lots did not drop out of the Sky. Livy speaks of the Lots which were carefully preserv'd in an Olive Chest at *Præneste*. They appeared shrunk or lessened, which of it self was ominous, and one of them dropped down, on which was written, &c.*

Tho' nothing can be more vain and childish than this same Divination, yet it is not an unreasonable Curiosity to desire to know in what manner it was practised, and what was properly meant by those Lots. *Cicero* gives us the whole History of this Matter in his second Book of Divination. *Seç. 41.*

He saith, that in the Archives of *Præneste* it was written, that One of the most considerable Men in the City, named *Numerius Suffucius*, was directed by several Dreams, which were repeated time after time, and menaced him in Case he refused, to go, and force open a Rock which stood in a certain Place, which was describ'd to him; that he accordingly went, and when he had done as he had been commanded, several Bits of Oak handsomly wrought issued out of the Rock, with Predictions expressed in ancient Characters inscribed upon them; that they were immediately deposited in an Olive Coffe; that when any one came to consult them they opened the Coffe, and a Child having first jumbled them together, drew out One from the rest, which contain'd the Answer to the Querist's Demand. The knavish Priests made good use of these Lots upon Occasion, for it was one of their Inventions to cheat, and bring, as we say, Grist to their Mill. *Tota res est inventa Fallaciis aut ad questum, aut ad Superstitionem*; as *Cicero* has very well observed. But what are we to understand from these Words in *Livy*, *Sortes extenuata*, which was look'd upon as an ill Omen? Probably there were two

several Scrolls in the form of Lots falling down, in one of which it was plainly writ, *Now Mars himself does brandish his Arms.* But these Prodigies had no effect (1) upon the impetuous and fiery Temper of the Consul *Flaminius*, whose natural promptness had been much heightened by his late (2) Victory over the *Gauls*, though he fought

two Sets of these Lots, One large and the Other small, and the Priests contrived a Draught to be made upon the One or the Other, just as they thought it for their Purpose, to encourage or intimidate Those who came to consult them. *Cicero* adds that these Lots were very much discredited in his time; that no Body made use of them, nor was the Name of the *Pranestine* Lots known but by the common Sort, who are always tenacious of their Superstitions. However, it appears from a remarkable Passage in *Suetonius*, that they got into Vogue again in the Reign of *Tiberius*; for he tells us that that Emperor having a Design to ruin all the Oracles in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, was deterred from it by the Majesty of those *Pranestine* Lots; for that having caused the Coffer close shut, and seal'd, to be brought to him, upon opening it there was not one Lot to be seen in it, but so soon as it was restor'd to the Temple they were all found in it as usual. It is no hard matter to account for this Miracle; it was a Trick of the Priests to save their Oracle, and keep up the Credit of their Temple. *Praneste* was not the only Place where these Sorts of Lots were to be found; they had them at *Antium*, at *Tibur*, and other Places.

(1) *Polybius* has given us this

Description of *Flaminius*; that he was a great Orator, but a very poor General; that he was grown arrogant, and depended too much upon his Forces. He so little doubted of the Victory, that his Troops were crowded with black Guards, who followed the Army with Chains, which were designed for the use of the captive Enemy.

(2) *Flaminius's* Success in that Engagement was much better than he deserved on many Accounts. In the first Place he engaged the Enemy when they were much superior to him in Number; in the next Place he paid no regard to the *Auspices*, nor acted according to the Orders he had received from the Senate. The third Objection, which is of no less Weight than the two former, was, that he drew up his Army injudiciously, for he formed it upon the Banks of the *Po*, in such a manner that he left no Room for his Troops to fall back upon Occasion; insomuch that if they had been press'd never so little they must have been plunged into the River. But this Unskillfulness of the Consul was counterbalanced by the Care and Experience of the Tribunes, to Whom was owing the Glory of the Victory. This happened in the 530th Year of *Rome*, during *Flaminius's* first Consulship. His Colleague was *P. Furius Piso*. *Polyb.*

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them contrary to the Order of the Senate and the Advice of his Collegue; so that nothing would satisfy Him but a Battel with *Hannibal*. *Fabius* on the other side thought it not seasonable to engage with the Enemy; (1) not that he much regarded those talked-of Prodigies, which he took to be either fictitious or casual; but in regard the *Carthaginian* Army was in a wasting condition, without a possibility of Recruits, without Magazines, the Soldiers unpaid; so that their only hope and safety was in a Battel: But if let alone, watch'd and observ'd, the neighbouring Garisons in the mean time being well secur'd, and the *Roman* Allies defended, their Vigour would soon expire, like a Flame for want of Aliment. (2) These weighty Reasons prevailed not with *Flaminius*, who protested, he would never suffer that the Enemy should advance one step fur-

(1) Had This been said of *Flaminius* it would have been no more than he deserved; for *Livy* tells us that he feared not the Gods, *nec Deorum satis metuens erat*, and that he neither took the Advice of Gods or Men, *nec Deos nec homines consulentem*. A Man of such Sentiments might well laugh at all Omens and Prodigies, and think them no better than old Wives Tales. But I question whether *Plutarch* had the same Reason to say it of *Fabius*, at least I have not met with any thing that could give one such an Idea of him; on the contrary it is well known that he was no sooner chosen Dictator but he blamed *Flaminius* for having contemn'd the Omens, and commanded the *Sibylls* Books to be consulted, which was never done but upon Denouncings the most portentous. *Fabius* was a Person too grave and prudent to oppose or contemn the reigning

Religion, in regard to which the Senate had been induced to order that those Prodigies should be expiated by Sacrifices, by publick Prayers and Offerings. To *Jupiter* they offered a golden Thunderbolt of fifty Pound Weight, and made other rich Offerings to *Juno* and *Minerva*. If *Fabius* was not moved by these Prodigies, it was not because he despised, or laugh'd at them, but that he hoped by propitiating Heaven, and appeasing the Anger of the Gods, to make them ineffectual; and accordingly he omitted nothing requisite thereto, as We shall see in the Sequel.

(2) This fatal step in *Flaminius* was owing to his headstrong Ambition. He was determined to engage before the other Consul could join him, for fear he should share with him in the Glory of the Victory.

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ther, and that he would not be reduced, like *Camillus* in former time, to fight for *Rome* within the Walls of *Rome*. Accordingly he ordered the Tribunes to draw out the Army into the Field; and as he would not be dissuaded by the Reasons of his Collegue from his precipitous Resolution, so neither was he deterr'd by an ill-prefaging Accident which befel him at his setting forth; for he no sooner got on Horseback, but the Beast fell into so violent a fit of trembling and bounding, (1) that he cast his Rider headlong on the Ground. This notwithstanding, away he marcheth up to *Hannibal*, who was posted near the Lake *Trasimena* in *Tuscany*. And it is to be observed, that during the Ingagement, there happen'd so great an Earthquake that it destroyed several Towns, altered the Course of Rivers, tore off the Tops of Mountains: yet such was the Eagerness of the Combatants, that they were sensible of no other Concussion or Agitation, but what Themselves made.

In this Battel *Flaminius* fell, having given many proofs of his Strength and Courage, and round about him lay all the bravest of the Army: In the whole, Fifteen thousand were kill'd, and as many made Prisoners. *Hannibal*, desirous to bestow Funeral Honours upon the Body of *Flaminius*, made diligent search after it, but could never find what became of it. Tho' the Loss was so considerable, yet there was no Art used to dissemble it at *Rome*; as there had been, upon the former Ingagement

(1) This Fall from his Horse, which was look'd upon as ominous, was followed by something else, which was understood to be altogether as unpromising. When the Ensign was raising up the Standard which he had pitch'd into the Ground in order to march, he had not Strength enough to draw it up. But where is the Wonder, saith *Cicero*, to have a Horse run rusty, and find a Standard-Bearer, who perhaps was unwilling to march, feebly endeavouring to draw up the Standard which he had purposely struck deep in the Ground?

near *Trebia*: for then, neither the General who writ, nor the Express who told the News, related it otherwise than as a drawn Battel, with equal Loss on either side: But now, as soon as *Pomponius* the Pretor had the Intelligence, he caused the People to assemble, and without disguising the Matter, told them plainly, *We are beaten (O Ye Romans!) our Army is defeated, the Consul Flaminius is killed; think therefore what is to be done for your Safety.* The same Commotion which a furious Wind doth cause in the Ocean, did these Words of the Pretor raise in the Minds of so vast a Multitude: But the rage of their Grief being a little over, the Danger at hand did quickly unite them all in this one Resolution of chusing a Dictator, who by the Sovereign Authority of his Office, and by his Personal Capacity for Wisdom and Courage, might be able to manage the publick Affairs, which were become almost desperate, and to sit at the Helm in so great a Storm. (1) Their Choice unanimously fell upon *Fabius*, in whom was joined a venerable Gravity of Manners, with a Spirit not to be daunted with any Difficulty or Danger; whose Age was so far advanced, as to give him Experience, without taking from him the vigour of Action: so that his Body could execute what his Soul designed; and in Him was the happy mixture of Caution and Boldness. *Fabius* being thus installed in the Office of Dictator, in the first place he gave the Command of the Horse to * *Lucius Minutius*; and next he asked leave of the Senate for himself, that in time of

* Polybius
and Livy
call him
Marcus Mi-
nutius.

(1) None but the Consuls had the Power of naming a Dictator, and as *Servilius* was at the Army, and his Collegue *Flaminius* slain, the People named *Fabius* Prodictator; and we are told by *Livy*, that in Consideration of the Me-

rits of this great Man, his Descendants obtained the Privilege of putting *Dictator* instead of *Prodictator* in the List of his Titles; which to me seems something remarkable.

Battel he might serve on Horse-back, which by an ancient Law amongst the *Romans* was forbid to their Generals; whether it were, that placing their greatest Strength in their Foot, they would have their Commanders in Chief posted amongst them; or else let them know, that how great soever their Authority were, the People and Senate were still their Masters, of whom they must ask leave. But then again, to make the Authority of his Charge more awful, and to render the People more submissive and obedient to him, he caused himself to be accompanied with four and twenty Lictors; and when the Consul came to visit him, he sent him word, that at his Audience he should dismiss his Lictors with their Fasces (the ensigns of Authority) and appear before him only as a private Person.

The first solemn Action of his Dictature was to order publick Prayers to be made to the Gods, and to admonish the People, that their late Overthrow did not befall them through want of Courage in their Soldiers, but through the Neglect of Divine Ceremonies in the General. He therefore exhorted them not to fear the Enemy, but by extraordinary Honours to appease the Gods. This he did, not to fill their Minds with Superstition, but only to raise their Courage and lessen in them the fear of the Enemy, by making them believe, that Heaven was on their side. In order hereunto the *Sibylline* Books were consulted, in which they conceived the Secrets of Destiny and future Events were to be learnt; and 'tis said there were found some Prophecies in them which perfectly agreed with some Events that fell out about that time; but whoever look'd into them, was under a tye of Secrecy not to reveal what they found. After This he assembled the People, and made a (1) Vow before them

(1) This Vow was called *Ver* | obliged himself to consecrate to
Sacrum, and Whoever made it | the Gods whatever should pass in-
to

them to offer in Sacrifice the whole Product of the next Season all *Italy* over, of the Cows, Goats, Swine, Sheep, both in the Mountains and the Plains: and the more to solemnize this great Vow, he commanded the precise sum of 333000 Sesterces, and 333 Pence, and one third of a Penny, to be expended upon festival Games in Honour of the Gods: (which in our *Greek* Money amounts to eighty three thousand five hundred eighty three *Drachms* and two *Oboli*.) What his Mystery might be in that Number is not easy to determine, unless it were (1) in regard of the Perfection of the Number *Three*, as being the first of odd Numbers, the first that contains in it self Multiplication, with all the other Properties belonging to any whatsoever Numbers besides.

In this manner *Fabius* having raised the hearts of the People, by making them believe that the Gods took their Part, and by the same means having made them supple and pliant to his Will, He, for his own part, placed his whole Confidence in himself, believing that the Gods bestowed Victory and good Fortune only upon the Valiant and the Prudent. Thus prepared, he set forth to oppose *Hannibal*, not with intention to fight him, but to wait upon him, to straiten his Quarters, to cut off his

to Life between the first of *March* and the first of *May*. At first all the Children that happened to be born in that Period, were involv'd in the Vow; but in time that Custom came to be softned, and they thought fit to specify in their Vow what it was they bound themselves to offer. *Quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo Grege*. The Reader may see the Remarks on *Festus* under the Article *Ver Sacrum*.

(1) For *One* is no Number, *Two* is nought but Division, and consequently *Three* is the first odd Number, which containing in it a Beginning, a Middle, and an End, comprehends the first Difference, and has in it the first Elements of all Numbers. For this Reason it has been said that *Three* was *All*. It is likewise called the holy Number, and was thought the most proper and fit for every thing that related to Religion.

Provi-

Provisions, and by so doing (1) to make his victorious Army moulder away, and consume with Penury and Want. With this design he always incamped on the highest Grounds, where their Horse could have no Access. He carefully observed the Motions of *Hannibal's* Army; when they marched he followed them; when they incamped he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be compelled to an Engagement, and always keeping upon the Hills, free from the Insults of their Cavalry: by which means he gave them no Rest, but kept them in a continual Alarm.

But this his dilatory fencing way gave occasion both at *Rome*, and even in his own Camp, to suspect his want of Courage; and this Opinion prevailed also in *Hannibal's* Army, who was himself the only Man who was not deceived, and who clearly saw his own Ruin in his Enemy's Conduct. Wherefore he resolved with all the Arts and Subtilties of War to break his Measures, and so bring *Fabius* to an Engagement; like a cunning Wrestler, who watcheth every Opportunity to get good hold and close with his Adversary. Sometimes he draws up his Men to the very Intrenchments of the Enemy, reproaching the *Romans* with their Cowardise, so to exasperate and incense them against their Gene-

(1) The only Advantage the Troops of *Hannibal* had over Those of *Fabius* was that Vigour and Hardiness with which their frequent Victories had inspired them. Besides, they were superior to the *Romans*, in Horse; but then the *Romans* had several Advantages over *Hannibal*, which being well husbanded would necessarily procure them the Victory. They raised Recruits with great Ease, and were plentifully supply'd with

all Sorts of Ammunition and Provision, so that being in want of nothing, they were not obliged to go out of their Camp, where *Fabius* kept them close watching all Opportunities of falling upon the *Carthaginians*, who frequently foraged up to his very Retrenchments, so that never a Day passed wherein Some of them were not cut off, by this means weakening the Enemy and heartning his own Soldiers.

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ral; then again he makes a Retreat to a good distance, that so he might draw them out to fall upon his Rear. At other times, in sight of the *Roman* Camp he wastes and burns the Countries round, to increase the Clamour of the People against *Fabius*. All this Artifice, though it had no effect upon the Firmness and Constancy of the Dictator, yet upon the common Soldiers, and even upon the General of the Horse himself, it had too great an one: For from this Conduct *Minutius* began to have a Contempt of the General, and his way of proceeding, which he misconstrued to be a timorous Cunctation; so that in his Harangues he humoured the Soldiery in their mad fondness of coming to a Battel, and in their Scorn and Reproaches which they cast upon *Fabius*; calling him (1) the *Pedagogue of Hannibal*, since he did nothing else but follow him up and down, as if he had nothing to do but wait upon his Motions. At the same time they cried up *Minutius* for the only Captain worthy to command the *Romans*; whose Vanity and Presumption did thereupon swell to that degree, that (2) he insolently rallied *Fabius's* Incampments upon the Mountains, saying, that he lodg'd his Men there, as on a Theater, to behold the Flames and Desolation of their Country. And in his vain

(1) For the Office of a *Pedagogue*, as the Name implies, was to follow the Children, to carry them up and down, and conduct them home again; for which Reason we find in *Terence's Phormio*, that *Phadria*, whose only Satisfaction lay in following his Mistress,

Seſtari, in ludum ducere, & reducere,

was called a *Pedagogue*,

Quid Pedagogus ille, qui Citharistram.

(2) *Livy* makes a Reflection upon this Insolence of *Minutius*, which is worth observing. *Premendorumque superiorum arte, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.* He raised himself by an Art he had got of depreciating his Betters, which Art, tho' a very mischievous one, grew much in Fashion from the Success Many found in the Exercise of it. This is an Art by no means out of Fashion in our Days.

fit he would sometimes ask the very Friends and Domesticks of the General, whether it were not his meaning by so leading them from Mountain to Mountain, to carry them at last (having no hopes on Earth) up into Heaven, and hide them in the Clouds from *Hannibal's* Army? When his Friends related these things to the Dictator, persuading him, that to avoid the general Obloquy, and the danger that might thereupon ensue, he would engage the Enemy: His Answer was, *I should be more faint-hearted than they make me, if through fear of idle Reproaches I should abandon my own Reason. It is no inglorious thing to have Fear for the safety of our Country. That Man is not fit to rule Others, who shall be startled and give Ground upon the noise of Rumours and Calumnies; for in so doing he subjects Himself and his Government to the Fancy of Those whom he ought to command.*

But an oversight of *Hannibal*, at this time committed, did happily allay these Distempers in the *Roman* Camp: For He, desirous to get at a greater distance from *Fabius*, and to refresh his Horse in some good Pasture-grounds, drew off his Army, and ordered his Guides to conduct him to (1) *Casinum*. They mistaking him, by reason of his ill pronouncing the *Latin* Tongue, led Him and his Army to the Town of *Casilinum*, near *Campania*, which the River *Vulturnus* divides in two: The Country about it is a Valley circled round with Mountains, which enlargeth it self towards the Sea, near which that River overflowing, causeth a great deal of Marsh Ground; and at last discharging it self into

(1) It was not only for the sake of Forage that *Hannibal* desired to gain the Plains of *Casinum*; his main drift was to place himself in such a Situation as to be able to prevent *Fabius* from succouring his Allies, which would have been the Case if he could have secured that Post.

the Sea, makes a very unsafe Coast, without any Harbour. As soon as *Hannibal* was entered into this Valley, *Fabius* dispatched four thousand choice Men to seize the Entrance into it, and stop him up; and lodged the rest of his Army upon the neighbouring Hills, in the most advantageous places: but at the same time he detached a commanded Party of his lightest-armed Men to fall upon *Hannibal's* Rear; which they did with such Success, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and put the whole Army in disorder. *Hannibal*, finding the Error and the Danger he was fallen into, immediately caused the poor Guides to be hang'd, which satisfied his Revenge, but did not lessen his Danger: for his Enemies were so advantageously posted, that there were no hopes of breaking through them, and his Soldiers began to despair of ever coming out of those Straits.

Thus reduced, *Hannibal* had recourse to this Stratagem; he caused two thousand Head of Oxen, which he had in his Camp, to have Torches and dry Bavors well fastned to their Horns, and lighting them in the beginning of the Night, he ordered the Beasts to be fairly and softly drove on towards the Passages out of the Valley; when this was done, he made his Army with great silence march after them. The Oxen at first kept a slow orderly Pace, and with their lighted Heads resembled an Army marching by Night, frightening only the Shepherds and Herdsmen of the adjacent Hills. But when the Fire had burnt down the Horns of the Beasts to the quick, they no longer observed their sober Pace, but unruly with their Pain, they ran dispersed about, tossing their Heads, and scattering the Fire round about them. This became a surprising spectacle to the *Romans*, especially to Those who guarded the Passages, who being

ing at some distance from the main Body, and seeing the Fire on the sudden dispersing it self on every side, as if the Enemy had designed to surround them, in great Fright and Amazement quitted their Post, and precipitously retired to their Camp on the Hills. They were no sooner gone, but a light body of *Hannibal's* Men, according to his order, immediately seized the Passages, and soon after the whole Army, with all the Baggage, came up, and safely marched through the Passes. *Fabius*, before the Night was over, found out the Trick; for some of the Beasts with their flaming Heads fell into the Hands of his Men; but for fear of an Ambush in the Dark, he kept his Men all Night to their Arms in the Camp: And as soon as it was day, he charged the Enemy in the Rear, where Many fell; and by reason of the Straits, and unevenness of the Passages, the Disorder had like to have been general over the whole *Punick* Army, but that *Hannibal* speedily detatch'd from his Van a Body of *Spaniards*, who were light and nimble Fellows, and used too to climbing over Mountains; These briskly attacked the *Roman* Troops, who were in heavy Armour, and routing the foremost, gave such a Check to *Fabius*, that he was no longer in a Condition to follow the Enemy. This Action brought a strange obloquy and contempt upon the Dictator: They said, it was now manifest, that he was not only inferior to his Adversary (what they always thought) in Courage, but even in Conduct.

And *Hannibal* (maliciously) to improve their Hatred against him, marched with his Army close to the Lands and Possessions of *Fabius*; and then giving orders to his Soldiers to burn and destroy all the Country about, he forbid them upon pain of Death to do the least Damage in the Territories of the *Roman* General, and plac'd Guards

for their security. These Matters reported at *Rome*, had that effect with the People which *Hannibal* desired. Their Tribunes raised a thousand Stories against him, chiefly at the Instigation of *Metilius*, who not so much out of hatred to Him, as out of friendship to *Minutius*, whose Kinsman he was, thought by depressing *Fabius* to raise his Friend. The Senate on their part was also offended with him, for the Bargain he had made with *Hannibal* about the exchange of Prisoners, of which the Conditions were, That after the exchange made of Man for Man, if any on either side remained, they should be redeemed at the price of two hundred and fifty Drachms a Head; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty *Romans* unexchanged. They not only refused to allow Money for the Ransoms, but also reproached *Fabius* for making a Contract so contrary to the Honour and Interest of the Commonwealth, in redeeming those Men at so dear a rate, who had cowardly suffered themselves to be taken by the Enemy. *Fabius* heard and endured all this with invincible Patience: but having no Money by him, and on the other side being resolved to keep his Word with *Hannibal*, he dispatched his Son to *Rome*, to sell Land, and to bring with him the price, sufficient to discharge the Ransoms; which was punctually performed by his Son, and accordingly the Prisoners were delivered to him; amongst whom many that were able, offered when they were released to repay the Money of their Ransom, but *Fabius* would not permit them to do it.

About this time *Fabius* was called to *Rome* by the Priests, to assist (according to the Duty of his Office) at some of their solemn Sacrifices; whereby he was forced to leave the Command of the Army with *Minutius*: but before he parted, he charged him, and intreated him, in his Absence, not to come
to

to a Battel with *Hannibal*. His Commands, his Intreaties, and his Advice were lost upon *Minutius*; for his Back was no sooner turned, but the new General immediately sought all occasions to fight the Enemy. And notice being brought him, that *Hannibal* had sent out a great part of his Army to forage, he fell upon a considerable Party of them, doing great Execution, and driving them to their very Camp, with no little Terror to the rest, who apprehended their breaking in upon them: but in the mean time *Hannibal* had drawn his Men up into a Body, and *Minutius* (1) without any loss made his retreat. This Success did much increase the boldness and presumption of *Minutius*, and fill'd the Soldiers Minds with a Contempt of the Enemy, and with a longing desire of a Battel. The News was suddenly spread about *Rome*, and then was *Fabius* heard to say those memorable Words, *That he dreaded nothing more, for the Safety of Rome, than the Success of Minutius*. But the People were mad with Joy, and *Metilius*, who was then their Tribune, made an Oration to them, in which he infinitely extolled the Valour of *Minutius*, and fell bitterly upon *Fabius*, accusing him not only for want of Courage, but even of Loyalty; and not only Him, but also many others of the most eminent and considerable Persons in *Rome*; that by their means the Carthaginians had brought the War into Italy, designing thereby to oppress and destroy the Liberty of the People: for which end they had put the supreme Authority into the hands of a single Person, who by his slowness and delays might give leisure to

(1) Others say that he lost five thousand of his Men, and that the Enemy's Loss did not exceed His but by a thousand. For this Reason *Livy* writes, *Tamen in tam pari prope clade Famam egregia Vi* Gloria cum vanioribus litteris Ma-
gistris Equitum Romam perlatam; and speaking of this advantage, he saith, *lato verius dixerim, quam prospero eventu pugnatum.*

Hannibal to establish himself in Italy, and Those of Carthage time and opportunity to supply him with fresh Succours in order to a total Conquest. At this Fabius step'd forth, but disdain'd to make any reply to his Accusations; he only said, *That they should expedite the Sacrifices, that so he might speedily return to the Army, to punish Minutius, who had presumed to fight contrary to his Orders.* He had no sooner pronounced these words, but the People were immediately possess'd with the belief, that *Minutius* stood in danger of his Life: For it was in the power of the Dictator to imprison, and to put to death; and they feared that *Fabius*, tho' of a mild Temper to outward appearance, would be as hard to be appeased when irritated, as he was slow to be provoked. And yet no body dared to contradict the Orders of the Dictator, but *Metilius*, whose Office of Tribune gave him security and liberty to say what he pleased; for in the time of a Dictature that Magistrate only conserves his Authority. He therefore boldly apply'd himself to the People, in the behalf of *Minutius*, that they should not suffer him to be made a Sacrifice to the enmity of *Fabius*, nor permit him to be destroyed, like the Son of *Manlius Torquatus*, who was beheaded by his Father, for a Battel fought and won against Order. Then he exhorted them to take away from *Fabius* that absolute Power of a Dictator, and to put it into more worthy Hands, which might better manage it for their safety and publick good. These Impressions very much prevail'd upon the People, tho' not so far, as wholly to dispossess *Fabius* of the Dictature: But they decreed, that *Minutius* should have an equal Authority with the Dictator in the Army; which was a thing then without Precedent, tho' not long after it was also practis'd upon the overthrow at *Cannæ*, when the Dictator, *Marcus Junius*, being with the Army, they chose at Rome

Fabius

Fabius Buteo Dictator, that he might create new Senators to supply the Places of Those who were killed, which could be performed by no other Magistrate. But there was this difference in the two Cases, that *Buteo* had no sooner filled the Vacant Places in the Senate than he dismissed his *Lictors* with their *Fasces*, and all his Attendants, and mingling himself like a common Person with the rest of the People, he quietly went about his own Affairs. The Enemies of *Fabius* thought they had sufficiently affronted and dejected Him, by raising *Minutius* to be his Equal in Authority; but they mistook the Temper of the Man, who look'd upon their Madness as more injurious to the Commonwealth than to himself: In imitation of *Diogenes*, who being told, that some Persons derided him, made Answer, *But I am not derided*; meaning in a Philosophical sense, that a good and a wise Man was not capable of being affronted or disgraced, because such Injuries made no Impression upon him. Thus *Fabius*, with great lenity and unconcernedness, submitted to this mad Vote of the People; but lest the rashness of *Minutius* should be thereby enabled to run headlong upon some dangerous Enterprize, with all privacy and speed he returned back to the Army; where he found *Minutius* so big and elevated with his new Dignity, that a joint Authority not contenting him, he required by turns to have the Command of the Army, every other Day. This *Fabius* rejected, as of too dangerous Consequence, but was contented (to comply with his imperious Humour) that the Army should be divided, and each General should command his part. The first and fourth Legion he took for his own Division, the second and third he delivered to *Minutius*; so also of the Auxiliary Forces Each had an equal share.

Minutius thus exalted, could not contain himself from boasting, even in the presence of *Fabius*,

that now he had humbled the mighty Man, who so lately trampled on their Lives and Fortunes. To whom the Dictator mildly reply'd, *Minutius, you mistake the Enemy ; 'tis Hannibal, and not Fabius, whom you are to combat ; but if you must needs contend with your Colleague, let it be in diligence and care for the preservation of Rome ; that it may not be said, a Man so favoured by the People, serv'd them worse than He who had been ill treated and disgraced by them.*

Our young General despising these Admonitions, as the dotage of supercilious Age, immediately removed with the Body of his Army, and incamped by Himself. *Hannibal*, who was not ignorant of all these passages, lay watching his advantage from them : It happened, that between his Army, and that of *Minutius*, there was a certain Eminence which seemed a very advantageous Post to incamp upon ; it had the prospect of a large Plain about it, and the Fields appeared to be all level and even ; and yet there were a great many Ditches and Hollownesses in them, not discernable to the Eye at a distance. *Hannibal*, had he pleased, could easily have possessed himself of this Ground ; but he reserved it for a Bait or Train, in a proper season, to draw the *Romans* to an Engagement. Now that *Minutius* and *Fabius* were divided, he thought the opportunity fair for his purpose ; and therefore, having in the Night-time lodged a convenient number of his Men in those Ditches and hollow places, early in the Morning he sent forth a small Detachment, who in the sight of *Minutius* possessed themselves of that rising Ground. According to his expectation, *Minutius* swallow'd the Bait, and first sends out a Party of Dragoons, and after them some Horse, to dislodge the Enemy. And at last, when he saw *Hannibal* in Person advancing to the assistance of his Men, he marched with his whole

whole Army drawn up, resolving to make himself Master of that Post. The Combat for some time was equal between the foremost Troops; but as soon as *Hannibal* perceived that the whole Army of the *Romans* was now sufficiently advanced within the Toils he had set for them, so that their Backs and Flanks were open to his Men whom he had posted in those low places; he instantly gave the Signal, whereupon They rushed forth, and furiously attacked *Minutius* in the Rear. The Surprize and the Slaughter was so great, that it struck an universal Terror through the whole Army. The bravest amongst them, and *Minutius* himself, were in such Astonishment, that they were as incapable of giving Orders, as the Soldiery of obeying them. Those who sought to save themselves by flight, were intercepted and cut in pieces by the *Numidian* Horse-men, who for that purpose had dispersed themselves about the adjacent Plains.

Fabius was not ignorant of this Danger of his Countrymen: He well foresaw what would happen from the Rashness of *Minutius*, and the Cunning of *Hannibal*; for which Reason he kept his Men to their Arms, in a readiness to wait the Event; nor would he trust to the Reports of Others, but He himself upon an Eminence in his Camp viewed all that passed. When therefore he saw the Army of *Minutius* encompassed by the Enemy, and that by their Countenance, and shifting their Ground, they were more disposed to flight than to resist; with a great Sigh, striking his Hand upon his Thigh, he said to those about him, O Hercules! *how much sooner than I expected, and yet how much later than He would have done, hath Minutius destroyed himself!* He then commanded the Ensigns to march, and the Army to follow him, telling them, *We must make haste to rescue Minutius, who is a valiant Man, and a Lover of his Country; and if he hath been too forward*

forward to engage the Enemy, at another time we will tell him of it. Thus in the Head of his Men *Fabius* marched up to the Enemy; and in the first place he cleared the Plains of those *Numidians*, and next he fell upon Those who were charging the *Romans* in the Rear, running down all that made opposition, and obliging the rest to save themselves by a hasty Retreat, lest themselves should be environed as the *Romans* had been. *Hannibal* seeing so sudden a change of Affairs, and the great Execution done by *Fabius* beyond the force of his Age, opening his way through the Ranks that he might join *Minutius*, warily commanded a Retreat, and drew off his Men into their Camp: The *Romans* on their part were no less contented to retire in safety. It is reported that upon this occasion *Hannibal* said to his Friends; *Did not I tell you that this Cloud which always hovered upon the Mountains, would at some time or other come down with a Storm upon us?* *Fabius*, after his Men had pick'd up the Spoils of the Field, retired to his own Camp, without saying any harsh or reproachful thing to his Colleague; who also on his part gathering his Army together, in this manner delivered himself to them: *Never to commit a Fault is above the force of human Nature; but to learn and improve by the Faults we have committed, is that which becomes a good and a prudent Man. Some Reasons I may have to accuse Fortune, but I have many more to thank her: for in a few Hours she hath cured a long Mistake, and taught me, that I am not the Man who should command Others, but have need of Another to command me; and that we are not to contend for a Victory over Those to whom it is our Advantage to yield. Therefore for the future the Dictator must be your Commander; but I will still be your Leader, by shewing you an Example of Gratitude, in being always the first to obey Orders.* Having said this, he commanded the *Roman Eagles*

to

to march forward, and all his Men to follow him into the Camp of *Fabius*. The *Fabians* stood amazed at the novelty of the sight, and were anxious and doubtful what the meaning might be. When he came near the Dictator's Tent, *Fabius* went forth to meet him, and he presently laid his Colours at his Feet, calling him with a loud Voice his Father, and the Army commanded by him, the Patrons of his Liberty; and after several Civilities and Congratulations, he thus addressed himself to the Dictator: *You have this Day (Fabius) obtain'd a double Victory; One by your Valour and Conduct upon your Enemies, and Another by your Humanity and Compassion upon your Colleague: You have at once preserved us and instructed us; and when we were shamefully beaten by Hannibal, you restored us to our Honour and our Safety; and instead of Him, Fabius more honourably is now our Victor. I call you Father, but 'tis because I know no Title more honourable; for I am more obliged to you than my Father; to Him I am only obliged for my own Life, to You for my own and the Lives of all These here present.* After this, he threw himself with great tenderness and submission into the Arms of the Dictator; and in the same manner the Soldiers of each Army embraced one another with an Excess of Gladness and Tears of Joy.

Not long after *Fabius* laid down the Dictature, and new Consuls were created. Those, who immediately succeeded, observed the same method in managing the War, and avoided all occasions of fighting *Hannibal* in a pitch'd Battel; they only succoured their Allies, and preserved the Towns from falling off to the Enemy. But afterwards, when *Terentius Varro* (1) (a Man of obscure Birth, but

(1) He was the Son of a Butcher, and had served under his Father in that Trade; but being become pretty wealthy, he was for pushing his Fortune, and apply'd himself to the Bar. He knew so well

but very popular and bold) had obtained the Consulship, he soon made it appear, that by his Rashness and Ignorance, he would expose the Commonwealth to the last hazard: for it was his Custom to declaim in all Assemblies, that as long as the Counsels of *Fabius* prevailed in *Rome*, there would never be an end of the War; and he made his brags, that whenever he should get sight of the Enemy, he would free *Italy* from the Arms of Strangers. With these Promises he so prevailed with the credulous Multitude, that he raised a greater Army than had ever yet been sent out of *Rome*. (1) There were listed eighty eight thousand fighting Men; but That which gave Confidence to the Populace, did at the same time very much terrify and deject the Wise and Experienced, and none more than *Fabius*: For if so great a Body, and the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, should be cut off, they could not see any resource for the safety of *Rome*. Wherefore they addressed themselves to the other Consul, *Paulus Æmilius*, a Man of great Experience in War, but not agreeable to the Common People, and One

well how to insinuate himself into the good Opinion of the Populace by cajoling them, and supporting the very Scum of the People against the best Men in *Rome*, that in time he attained to the greatest Honours in the Commonwealth. He was *Ædile*, *Quæstor*, *Prætor*, and at last Consul.

(1) One can learn from no one better than *Polybius* the method observed by the *Romans* in their Levies; for that Author, who accompanied *Scipio* into *Africa*, speaks of nothing but what he himself saw practised; and This he tells us was then their Method in that Respect. The *Romans* had four Le-

gions on foot every Year, each Legion consisting of four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse. In times of Difficulty they were augmented to five thousand, and three hundred Horse. To These they added an equal Number, that is, five thousand *Italian* Foot, and five hundred Horse; so that each Legion consisted of ten thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. On this Occasion they did what never had been done before, instead of four Legions they raised Eight, and consequently the *Roman* Army consisted of Eighty Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand four Hundred Horse.

that

that stood in fear of them, because they had formerly set a Fine upon him. This other Consul they encourage to withstand the Temerity of his Colleague, telling him, if he will profitably serve his Country, he must no less oppose *Varro* than *Hannibal*, since Both conspired to decide the Fate of *Rome* by a Battel. *It is more reasonable* (said *Fabius* to him) *that you should believe Me than Varro, in Matters relating to Hannibal, when I tell you, that if for this Year you abstain from fighting with him, either his Army will of it self moulder away and be destroyed, or else he will be glad to depart, and free Italy from those troublesom Guests. This evidently appears, inasmuch as, notwithstanding his Victories, none of the Countries or Towns of Italy come in to him, and his Army is not the third part of what it was at first. To this Paulus Æmilius is said to have reply'd, Did I only consider my self, I should rather chuse to be exposed to the Weapons of Hannibal, than to the Suffrages of my Fellow-Citizens, to whom I shall still render my self less agreeable, if I avoid engaging the Enemy; yet since the Life of Rome is at stake, I will rather in my Conduct be directed by Fabius, than by all the World besides. But these good Measures were broken by the ambitious importunity of Varro; (1) for when they were both come to the Army, nothing would content this Favourite of the People but a separate Command, that each Consul should have his Day; and when his Turn came, (2) he posted*

(1) *Plutarch* is mistaken in this Place with relation to the Custom of the *Romans*. *Varro* did not obtain his Point by his Intreagues or Solicitations, he had it in right of his Office. For, as *Polybius* has in express Terms observed, it was a fix'd Rule with the *Romans* that Consuls should have the Command of the Army by Turns,

(2) *Plutarch* has forgot an Engagement that happened before what he now speaks of, in which the *Romans* under the Command of *Paulus Æmilius* defeated the *Carthaginians*, who lost in the Action above seventeen hundred of their Men, whereas on the *Roman* side there fell hardly an hundred.

his Army close to *Hannibal*, at a Village called *Cannæ*, by the River *Aufidus*. It was no sooner day, but he set up the red Flag over his Tent, which was the signal of Battel. This boldness of the Consul, and the numerousness of his Army (double to *Theirs*) startled the *Carthaginians*; but *Hannibal* commanded them to their Arms, and with a small Train he went forth to take a full prospect of the Enemy, upon a rising ground not far distant. One of his Followers, called *Gisco* (a Nobleman of *Carthage*) told him that the Number of the Enemy was very astonishing; to whom *Hannibal* reply'd, with a serious Countenance: *There is something yet more astonishing, which you take no notice of; that in all that Army there is not one Man whose Name is Gisco.* This Jest of their General made all the Company laugh, and as they returned to the Camp, they told it to Those whom they met, which caused a general laughter among them all. The Army seeing *Hannibal's* Attendants come back from viewing the Enemy in such a laughing condition, did verily believe, that from the good posture of their Affairs, and from the contempt of the Enemy, this laughter had proceeded; which did not a little serve to raise the drooping Spirits of the Soldiers. According to his usual manner, *Hannibal* fail'd not by his Stratagems to advantage himself. In the first place, he so drew up his Men, that the Wind was on their backs, which was at that time very violent; and by reason of the great Plains of Sand, carried before it a great cloud of Dust, which striking upon the Faces of the *Romans*, did very much disable them in the fight. In the next place, all his best Men he put into his Wings; and in the Body, which was somewhat more advanced than the Wings, he placed the worst and the weakest of his Army. Then he commanded those in the Wings, that when the Enemy had made a thorow charge upon

upon that middle advanced Body, which he knew would recoil, as not being able to stand their shock, and that, when the *Romans*, in their pursuit, should be far enough engaged within the two Wings, they should both on the right and the left charge them in the Flank, and endeavour to encompass them. This design had all the Success imaginable; for the *Romans* pressing upon *Hannibal's* Front, which gave ground, reduced the form of his Army into a perfect Half-Moon; and, blinded with the dust, they followed on so far, that they gave room for the Enemy's Wings to join behind them, and so to inclose and charge them both in Flank and Rear; which they did with an incredible Slaughter of the *Romans*: To whose Calamity, it is also said, that a casual mistake did very much contribute; for the Horse of *Æmilius* receiving a hurt, and throwing his Master, Those about him immediately alighted to aid the Consul: the *Roman* Troops seeing their Commanders thus quitting their Horses, took it for a sign that they should all dismount and charge the Enemy on Foot. At the sight of this *Hannibal* was heard to say, *This pleaseth me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot.* For the Particulars of this Engagement, we refer our Reader to those Authors who have writ at large upon this Subject.

The Consul *Varro* with a thin Company fled to *Venutia*; and *Paulus Æmilius*, unable any longer to oppose the flight of his Men, or the pursuit of the Enemy, his Body all covered with Wounds, and his Soul no less wounded with Grief, sat himself down upon a Stone, expecting the kindness of a dispatching Blow. His Face was so disfigured, and all his Armour so stained with Blood, that his very Friends and Domesticks passing by, knew him not. At last *Cornelius Lentulus*, a young Man of a *Patrician* Race, perceiving who he was, alighted from his Horse,

Horse, and tendering it to him, desired him to get up, and save a Life so necessary to the safety of the Commonwealth, which at this time would dearly want so great a Captain. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the Offer; with Tears in his Eyes he obliged young *Lentulus* to remount his Horse; then standing up, he gave him his Hand, and commanded him to tell *Fabius Maximus*, that *Paulus Æmilius* had followed his Directions to the very last, and had not in the least deviated from those Measures which were agreed upon between them; but that it was his hard Fate to be overpowered by *Varro* in the first place, and secondly by *Hannibal*. Having dispatched *Lentulus* with this Commission, he mark'd where the Slaughter was greatest, and there threw himself upon the Swords of the Enemy. In this Battel it is reported, that fifty thousand *Romans* were slain, four thousand Prisoners taken in the Field, besides ten thousand that were taken Prisoners the day after the Battel, in the Camp of both Consuls.

The Friends of *Hannibal* earnestly persuaded him to follow his Victory, and pursue the flying *Romans* to the very Gates of *Rome*; assuring him, that in five days march he might sup in the Capitol: Nor is it easy to imagine, what hindred him from it. I am apt to believe, that the Excess of his good Fortune, or some Tutelary God of the *Romans*, blinded his Reason, and made him loiter away his time; which made *Barcas*, a *Carthaginian*, tell him with Indignation; *You know, Hannibal, how to get a Victory, but not how to use it.* Yet, tho' he failed in making the best advantage of so mighty a Victory, however it produced a strange turn and improvement in his Affairs: For He, who hitherto had not one Town, nor a Sea-port in his Possession, who had nothing for the subsistence of his Men, but what he pillaged from day to day; who had no place of Retreat,

treat, nor any reasonable hopes to make the War continue, nor his Army to hold together, now became Master of the best Provinces and Towns of *Italy*, and of *Capua* it self (next to *Rome*, the most flourishing and opulent City) all which came over to him, and submitted to his Authority.

It is the Saying of *Euripides*, that 'tis no small misfortune in private Life not to know who are fit to be made Friends, much more in the State, who are fit to be made its Generals. And so it was with the Romans, who (before the Battel) branded the Counsels and Actions of *Fabius* with the infamous note of Cowardise and Fear; but now in the other extreme, they admire and adore his Prudence, as something Divine, that could see so far, and foretel what would happen, so contrary to and so much above the judgment of all Others. In Him therefore they place their only hope; his Wisdom is the sacred Anchor which fix'd them in so great a Fluctuation, and his Counsels alone preserve them from dispersing, and deserting their City; as in the time when the *Gauls* took possession of *Rome*. He, whom they esteemed fearful and pusillanimous, when they were (as they thought) in a prosperous Condition, is now the only Man, in this general Dejection, who shews no fear, but walking the Streets with an assured and serene Countenance, comforts the Afflicted, invigorates the Weak, and encourageth All to a brave and resolute Defence of their Country. He caused the Senate to meet, he heartned the Magistrates, and was as the Soul of their Body, giving them Life and Motion; He placed Guards at the Gates of the City, to stop the frightened Rabble from flying; He regulated and confined their Mournings for their slain Friends, both as to time and place; That each Family at their private Houses, and not in Publick, should perform such Obsequies; and that the Ceremony of them should continue only the

space of one Month, and then the whole City should be lustrated and purified. The Feast of *Ceres* happening to fall within this time, it was thought best (1) that the Solemnity should be intermitted; lest the Fewness and the sorrowful Countenance of Those who should celebrate it, might too much expose to the People the greatness of their loss; and also because the Worship most acceptable to the Gods, is that which comes from chearful Hearts; but as to those Rites which were thought proper and peculiar for appeasing their Anger, and procuring auspicious Signs and Presages, they were by the direction of the Augurs carefully performed. Also *Fabius Pictor* (a near Kinsman to *Maximus*) was sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*; and about the same time, two Vestal Virgins having been convicted of a criminal Conversation with the other Sex, the One killed her self, and the Other according to custom was buried alive.

But now let us admire the Moderation and Generosity of this *Roman Commonwealth*; that when the Consul *Varro* came beaten and flying home, full of Infamy and Shame, after he had so foully and calamitously managed their Affairs, yet (2) the whole

(1) *Plutarch* is here mistaken. The Feast of *Ceres* was not intermitted for any Reasons of State, as he pretends, but from a Religious Motive, for People in mourning were not allowed to partake of her Rites. *Sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum, quia nec lugentibus it facere est fas, nec ulla in illâ tempestate Matrona expars luctus erat.* The Feast of *Ceres* was intermitted, because it was unlawful for Persons in Mourning to celebrate it, and there was not throughout the whole City a Matron exempt from it. *Liv. xxii. 56.*

(2) *Val. Maximus, Lib. iii. c. 4.* and *L. iv.* adds to what *Plutarch* saith here, that the Senate and People offered *Varro* the Dictatorship, but that he refused it, effacing by his Modesty the Shame of his late Miscarriage and Defeat. *Frontin, L. iv. c. 5.* saith that *Varro* ever after suffered his Beard and Hair to grow; and never eat his Meals recumbent on a Bed, as was the Custom in those Days; and when the People were desirous to confer new Dignities upon him he constantly refused them, declaring the Republick wanted the Service of more successful Magistrates.

Senate

Senate and People went out to meet him at the Gates of the City, and received him with all the Honour and Respect due to his Dignity. And Silence being commanded, the Magistrates and chief of the Senate, and principally *Fabius*, commended him before the People, for that he did not despair of the safety of the Commonwealth after so great a Loss, but was come to take the Government into his hands, to execute the Laws, and comfort his Fellow-Citizens, as if he did not yet judge their Affairs to be desperate. When word was brought to *Rome*, that *Hannibal* after the fight had marched with his Army into the remoter Parts of *Italy*, the Hearts of the *Romans* began to recover their ancient Vigour and Resolution: they sent forth an Army under the Command of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*; Both great Generals, equal in Fame, but very unlike and opposite in their ways. For *Marcellus*, as we have formerly set forth in his Life, was a Man of Action, bold, vigorous and enterprising, and (as *Homer* describes his Warriors) *fierce*, and *delighting in Fights*. So that having to do with *Hannibal*, a Man of his own Temper, they never failed upon all occasions to come to an Engagement. But *Fabius* adher'd to his former Principles, still persuaded, that by following close and not fighting him, *Hannibal* and his Army would at last be tired out and consumed; like an able Wrestler, who with too much Exercise and Toil grows languid and weak. Wherefore *Possidonius* tells us, that the *Romans* called *Marcellus* their *Sword*, and *Fabius* their *Buckler*; and that the Vigour of the One mix'd with the Steadiness of the Other, made a happy Compound, very salutiferous to *Rome*. So that *Hannibal* found by Experience, that encountering the One, he met with a rapid impetuous River, which drove him back, and still made some Breach upon him; and by the Other, tho' silently and quietly passing by him, he was

insensibly wash'd away and consumed. At last he was brought to This, that he dreaded *Marcellus* when he was in motion, and *Fabius* when he sat still. During the whole course of this War, he had still to do with One or Both of these Generals; for each of them had been five times Consul; and either as Prætor, or Proconsul, or Consul, they had always a part in the Government of the Army; 'till at last *Marcellus* fell into the Trap which *Hannibal* had laid for him, and was killed in his fifth Consulship. But his Craft and Subtilty was unsuccessful upon *Fabius*; who only once was in some danger of being caught; for he had sent counterfeit Letters to him from the principal Inhabitants of *Metapont*, wherein they engaged to deliver up their Town, if he would come before it with his Army: This Train had almost drawn him in, for he had resolved to march to them with part of his Army, but was diverted only by consulting the Flight of the Birds, which he found to be inauspicious: And not long after he came to understand that those Letters had been forged by *Hannibal*, who for his Reception had laid an Ambush to entertain him. This perhaps we must rather attribute to the Favour of the Gods, than to the Prudence of *Fabius*.

But in preserving the Towns and his Allies from revolting, with fair and gentle usage, and in not using Rigour, or shewing a suspicion upon every light Suggestion, his Conduct was very singular. It is reported of him, that being informed of a certain *Marsian* (an eminent Man for his Courage and Quality) who had dealt underhand with some of the Soldiers to make them desert, *Fabius* was so far from using Severity against him, that he called for him, and told him, he was sensible of the wrong which had been done him, and that his Merit and good Service had been neglected, which he said was a great Fault in the Commanders, who reward
more

more by Favour than by Desert: *Therefore, whenever you are aggrieved (said Fabius) I shall take it ill at your hands, if you apply your self to any but to me.* When he had so spoken, he bestowed an excellent Horse and other good Gifts upon him; and from that time forwards, there was not a faithfuller and more trusty Man in the whole Army than this *Marfian*. With good reason our General did judge, that if Those who have the Government of Horses and Beasts, endeavour by gentle Usage to make them tractable and fit for Service, rather than by Cruelty and Beating; much more Those who have the command of Men, should bring them to Order and Discipline by the mildest and fairest Means; not treating them worse than Gardiners do their wild Plants, which by careful looking to and good usage, lose the savageness of their nature, and bear excellent Fruit.

At another time, some of his Officers informed him, that one of their Men did very often depart from his Colours, and lie out at Nights; he asked them what kind of Man he was: they all answer'd, that the whole Army had not a better Man; that he was a Native of *Lucania*; and so they fell relating several Actions which they had seen him perform. Immediately *Fabius* made a strict inquiry to find what it was that led him so often out of the Camp: and at last he discovered, that his frequent Excursions were to visit a young Woman, with whom he was in Love. Hereupon he gave private Order to some of his Men, to find out the Woman, and secretly to convey her into his own Tent; and then sent for the *Lucanian*, and calling him aside, told him that he very well knew how often he had lain at Nights out of the Camp, which was a capital Transgression against Military Discipline and the *Roman* Laws; but he knew also how brave he was, and the good Services he had done, and therefore in consideration of them he was willing

ling to forgive him his Fault ; but to keep him in good Order, he was resolved to place one over him, to be his Keeper, who should be accountable for his good Behaviour. Having said this, he produced the Woman, and told the Soldier (terrified and amazed at the Adventure) *This is the Person who must answer for you; and by your future Behaviour we shall see whether your Night Rambles were upon the account of Love, or upon any other worse Design.*

Another Passage there was, something of this nature, which also fell under the Management of *Fabius*, and proved highly advantageous to the *Roman* Affairs, whereby he gain'd *Tarentum*. There was a young *Tarentine* in the Army, that had a Sister in *Tarentum* (then in possession of the Enemy) who intirely loved her Brother, and wholly depended on him. He being informed, that a certain *Brutian*, whom *Hannibal* had made Governor of that Garrison, was deeply in Love with his Sister, conceived hopes that he might possibly turn it to account in behalf of the *Romans*. And having first communicated his Design to *Fabius*, he left the Army as a Deserter (in shew) and went over to *Tarentum*. At his first coming, the *Brutian* abstained from visiting his Sister; for neither of them knew that the Brother had notice of their Amour: whereupon the young *Tarentine* took an occasion to tell his Sister, how he had heard, that a Man of Quality and great Authority had made his Addresses to her; therefore he desired her to tell him who it was; for (said he) *if he be a Man that has Bravery and Reputation, it matters not what Country-man he is, since at this time the Sword mingles all Nations, and makes them equal; and an Alliance with such a Person, in this Reign of Mars, is both honourable and profitable.* Hereupon the Woman sends for her Gallant, and makes the Brother and Him great Friends: And whereas she henceforth shewed

shewed more Countenance to her Lover than formerly, by the same degrees that Her Kindness increased, did His Friendship also with the Brother advance. So that at last our *Tarentine* thought this *Brutian* Officer well enough prepared to receive the Offers he had to make him; and that it would be easy for a mercenary Man, who was in Love, to accept (upon the terms proposed) of great Sums promised by *Fabius*, and of a Mistress whom he so passionately loved. In conclusion the Bargain was struck, and the Promise made of delivering the Town. This is the common Tradition, tho' Some relate this Story otherwise, and say that this Woman, by whom the *Brutian* was inveigled to betray the Town, was not a Native of *Tarentum*, but a *Brutian* born, and that she had been kept by *Fabius* as his Concubine; and being a Country-woman and an Acquaintance of the *Brutian* Governor, he privately sent her to him to corrupt him.

Whilst these matters were thus brewing, to draw off *Hannibal* from scenting the Design, *Fabius* sends Orders to the Garrison in *Rhegium*, that they should waste and Spoil the *Brutian* Country, and should also lay Siege to *Caulonia*, and storm the Place with all possible Vigour. These were a Body of eight thousand Men, the worst of the *Roman* Army, who had most of them been Deserters, and had been branded by *Marcellus* with the ignominious Note of Cowardise; so that the loss of Them would not be great, nor much lamented by the *Romans*. *Fabius* therefore threw out these Men as a Bait for *Hannibal*, to divert him from *Tarentum*; who instantly bit at it, and led his Forces to *Caulonia*; and in the mean time *Fabius* lay down before *Tarentum*. The sixth day of the Siege, his young *Tarentine* slips by Night out of the Town, and having well observed the Place where the *Brutian* Commander, according to Agreement, was to let in the *Romans*, he gives an account of the whole matter, as they had laid it,

to *Fabius*; who thought it not safe to rely wholly upon the Information given him, and the Bargain which was made, but went himself with great privacy to take a view of the Post and Avenue; and then gave order for a general Assault to be made on the other side of the Town, both by Land and Sea. This being accordingly executed, when the *Tarentines* and most of the Garrison ran to defend the Town on that side where the Attack was made, *Fabius* with the Men reserved for that purpose scales the Walls at the place designed, and enters the Town without opposition.

Here we must confess, that *Fabius* gave up his good Sense to his Vanity; for to make it appear to the World, that he had taken *Tarentum* by Force, and his own Prowess, and not by Treachery, he commanded his Men to do Execution upon all the *Brutians*, and not to spare a Man of them. This Action, instead of raising his Character, as he hoped, by removing the Suspicion of Treachery, did very much lessen it, by adding Cruelty and Perfidiousness to it. Many of the *Tarentines* were also killed, and thirty thousand of them were sold for Slaves. The Army had the Plunder of the Town, and there were brought into the Treasury three thousand Talents. Whilst they were thus ordering and distributing the Spoils, the Officer who took the Inventory asked what should be done with their Gods, meaning the Statues and Images in the Temples; to whom *Fabius* answered, (1) *Let us leave their*

(1) The Beauty of this Expression of *Fabius* will appear still in a better Light, when we consider that those Gods of *Tarentum* were represented each in his Armour, and in the Attitude of a Combatant, *Suo quisque habitu in Modo Pugnantium formati*. Liv. Apollo, for Instance, was lancing his Darts, and *Jupiter* hurling his Thunder, on which Circumstance is founded the Epithet of *Angry*, as if those same Gods had in reality fought for the *Romans* against their own Devotees the *Tarentines*. At the same time this Saying of *Fabius* contains in it very wholesome Advice to the *Romans*, who are warned

their angry Gods to the Tarentines. And yet he caused (1) the Statue of *Hercules* to be set up in the Capitol, next to his own in Brass, which stood there on Horse-back. The severe and sanguinary proceeding on this occasion, as it reflects on the Memory of *Fabius*, so also it very much sets off in the Eyes of the World the Clemency and Humanity of *Marcellus*, as in his Life we have already shewn.

When *Hannibal* had the News brought him that *Tarentum* was besieged, he marched with great diligence to relieve it; and being come within five Miles, he was informed that the Town was taken; which made him say, *that Rome had also got a Hannibal, and by the same Art Tarentum was lost, by which he formerly got it.* And being in private with some of his Confidents, he plainly told them, that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impossible, with the Forces he then had to master *Italy*.

Upon this Success, *Fabius* had a Triumph decreed him at *Rome*, much more splendid than the former; for they looked upon him now as a Champion who had clearly worsted his Antagonist, and been too hard for him in his own Way, and at his own Weapon. And indeed the Army of *Hannibal* was at this time partly worn away with continual Action, and partly become soft and dissolute with great Opulency and Luxury. When the Senate had before them the Business of this Triumph, *Mar-*

warned not to carry to *Rome* those useless Ornaments of the conquer'd Cities; as serving not only to give the People a Taste of Luxury and Expence, but would awaken in the Minds of the conquered Subjects, who should behold them, a Sense of their former Calamities, and instigate them with Envy, Dis-

dain and Revenge against the Conquerors. This Subject is very well handled in the 9th Book of *Polybius*.

(1) *Strabo* in his 6th Book makes mention of this Particularity, and adds that this Statue was of Brass, and was the Work of *Lyfippus*.

cus Livius (who was Governor of *Tarentum* when it was betrayed to *Hannibal*, and then retired into the Castle, which he kept till the Town was retaken) (1) openly declared, that by his resistance, more than by any Action of *Fabius*, *Tarentum* had been recovered: to whom *Fabius*, laughing at his Envy and Ambition, reply'd; *You say very true, for if Marcus Livius had not lost Tarentum, Fabius Maximus had never recovered it.* The People of *Rome* thought no Honour too great for him; they gave his Son the Consulship of the next Year; who when he was entered upon his Office, there being some Business then on foot about Provisions for the War, his Father, either by reason of Age and Infirmary, or perhaps out of Design to try his Son, came up to him on Horseback. Whereupon the young Consul presently bid one of his Lictors command his Father to alight, and tell him that if he had any Business with the Consul he should come on Foot. This infinitely pleased the old Man, and altho' the Standers-by seemed offended at the Imperiousness of the Son towards a Father, so venerable for his Age and his Authority, yet he instantly lighted from his Horse, and with open Arms and great Speed, came up and embraced his Son, telling him, *Now thou art my Son indeed, since thou dost understand thy self in the Authority thou hast received, and knowest whom thou art to command.* This

(1) It is not likely that a Man against whom an Action lay for having suffered *Tarentum* to be taken by *Hannibal*, should be so hurry'd on by his Ambition as to be capable of such an haughty Expression. *Livy's* Account is more probable, for he saith that whilst the Senate had it under Consideration what course was to be taken with *Livius*, some of his Friends who had undertaken his Defence

unwarily said, *the Recovery of Tarentum was owing to Livius only; and Fabius in delivering his Opinion added, It is confess'd He was the cause that Tarentum was recovered to the Romans, for it could never have been retaken by Us if it had not first been lost by Him. Fateri se Operâ Livii Tarentum receptum, neque enim recipiendum fuisse, nisi amissum foret. Lib. xxvii. 25.*

was the way by which we and our Forefathers have advanced the Dignity of the Commonwealth, in preferring That to our own Fathers and Children.

And indeed it is reported, that the *great Grand-^{* Fabius Rullus.} father of our *Fabius*, who was undoubtedly the greatest Man of *Rome* in his time, both in Reputation and Authority, who had been five times Consul, and had been honour'd with several Triumphs for as many Victories obtained by him, condescended to serve (as Legate) (1) under his own Son, when he went Consul into his Province against the *Samnites*: And when afterwards his Son had a Triumph bestowed upon him for his good Service, the old Man followed on Horseback his Triumphant Chariot, as one of his Attendants; and made it his Glory to be the greatest Man in *Rome*, and to have such a Son, and yet to be subject to the Law and the Magistrate.

But the Praises of our *Fabius* are not bounded here; his manly Courage in bearing his Losses, more eminently shewed the greatness of his Soul, than his prosperous Successes. For losing this Son of his in the flower of his Age, and in the height of his Promotion, with wonderful moderation he did the part of a Pious Father, and of an Hero, whom nothing could daunt. For as it was the custom amongst the *Romans*, upon the death of any illustrious Person, to have a Funeral Oration recited by some of the nearest Relations, He himself took upon him that Office, and delivered himself upon the Subject to the great satisfaction and applause both of the Senate and People.

After *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who was sent Praetor into *Spain*, had driven the *Carthaginians*

(1) This Son was called *Q. Fabius Gurgus*: he had been before defeated by the *Samnites*, and his Father promised to attend him in this second Expedition as his Lieutenant.
would have been degraded, had not

(defeated

(defeated by him in many Battels) out of that Province, and had reduced several Towns and Nations under the Obedience of *Rome*, he was received at his coming home with a general Joy and Acclamation of the People; who to shew their Gratitude and high Esteem of him, design'd him Consul for the Year ensuing. Knowing what high Expectation they had of him, he thought the design of only driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, not great enough to answer the Hopes and the Happiness they promised themselves from his Consulship. He therefore proposed no less a Task to himself than to make *Carthage* the Seat of the War; and so to oblige *Hannibal*, instead of invading the Countries of Others, to draw back and defend his Own. To this end he made use of all the Credit and Favour he had with the People; and assiduously courting them, left no popular Art untry'd that he might gain them to second his Design. (1) *Fabius* on the other side opposed with all his might this Undertaking of *Scipio*; telling the People, that nothing but the temerity of a hot young Man could inspire them with such dangerous Counsels, which by drawing away their Forces to Parts so remote, might expose *Rome* it self to be the Conquest of *Hannibal*. His Authority and Persuasions prevailed with the Senate to espouse his Sentiments; but the common People thought that he envied the Fame of *Scipio*, and that he was afraid lest this young Conqueror should have the Glory to drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, and to end the War, which had for so many Years continued, and been protracted under his Government.

To say the Truth, when *Fabius* first opposed this Project of *Scipio*, I believe he did it in confi-

(1) This Matter was thoroughly canvassed, and debated in the Senate. We find in *Livy*, what was

said on the one Side and the Other by *Fabius* and *Scipio*. *Lib. xxviii.*

deration only of the Publick Safety, and of the Danger which the Commonwealth might incur by such a way of proceeding: But when he found *Scipio* every Day increasing in the Esteem of the People, Envy then and Ambition took hold of him, which made him so violent in his Opposition. For he apply'd himself to *Crassus*, the Collegue of *Scipio*, (1) and perswaded him not to yield that Province to *Scipio*, but that (if his Inclinations were for that War) he should himself in Person lead the Army to *Carthage*. He also hindred the giving Money to *Scipio* for the War, who was forced to raise it upon his own Credit and Interest, and was supply'd by the Cities of *Hetruria*, which were wholly devoted to him. On the other side, *Crassus* would not stir against him, nor remove out of *Italy*, as being in his own Nature an Enemy to Strife and Contention, and also as having the Care of Religion, by his Office of High-Priest. Wherefore *Fabius* try'd other ways to break the Design; he declaimed both in the Senate and to the People that *Scipio* did not only himself fly from *Hannibal*, but did also endeavour to drain *Italy* of all their Forces, and to spirit away the Youth of the Country to a Foreign War, leaving behind them their Parents, Wives and Children, a defenceless Prey to the Enemy at their Doors. With this he so terrified the People, that at last they would only allow to *Scipio* for the War, the Legions which were in *Sicily*, and three hundred of those Men who had so bravely served him in *Spain*. In these Transactions hitherto *Fabius* only seemed to follow the Dictates of his own wary Temper.

But, after that *Scipio* was gone over into *Africa*, when News was brought to *Rome* of his wonder-

(1) This *Crassus* could not do, | racter as such would not suffer him
for he was at that time High | to go out of *Italy*.
Priest, and consequently his Cha-

ful Exploits and Victories (of which the Fame was confirmed by the Spoils he sent home) of a *Numidian* King taken Prisoner, of a vast Slaughter of their Men, of two Camps of the Enemy burnt and destroyed, and in them a great quantity of Arms and Horses; when hereupon the *Carthaginians* had been compelled to send their Envoys to *Hannibal* to call him home, and leave *Italy* to defend *Carthage*; when for so eminent and transcending Services, the whole People of *Rome*, with no less Gratitude than Acclamation, cry'd up and extolled the Actions of *Scipio*; even then did *Fabius* contend that a Successor should be sent in his place, alledging for it only the old threadbare and pitiful reason of the Mutability of Fortune, as if she would be weary of long favouring the same Person. But this too manifestly laid open his envious and morose Humour, when nothing (not done by himself) could please him: Nay, when *Hannibal* had put his Army on Ship-board, and taken his leave of *Italy*, and when the People had therefore decreed a Thanksgiving-day, did *Fabius* still oppose and disturb the universal Joy of *Rome*, by spreading about his Fears and Apprehensions, and by telling them, that the Commonwealth was never more in Danger than now, and that *Hannibal* was a more dreadful Enemy under the Walls of *Carthage*, than ever he had been in *Italy*; that it would be fatal to *Rome* whenever *Scipio* should encounter his Victorious Army, still warm with the Blood of so many *Roman* Generals, Dictators and Consuls. Some of the People were startled with these Declamations, and were brought to believe, that the farther off *Hannibal* was, the nearer was their Danger. But *Scipio* afterwards fought *Hannibal* and defeated him, and sufficiently humbled the Pride of *Carthage*; whereby he raised again the drooping Spirits of the *Romans*, no more to be dejected; and firmly

firmly establish'd their Empire, which the Tempest of this *Punick* War had so long caused to fluctuate.

But *Fabius Maximus* liv'd not to see the prosperous End of this War, and the final Overthrow of *Hannibal*, nor to rejoice in the well-established Happiness and Security of the Commonwealth; for about the time that *Hannibal* left *Italy*, he fell sick and dy'd. We find in the History of *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* dy'd so poor that he was buried upon the publick Charge; for 'tis said nothing was found in his House but an Iron Spit. *Fabius*, on the contrary, dy'd very rich, yet such was the Love of the People towards him, that every Man of them, by a general Tax, did contribute towards defraying his Funeral, thereby owning him their common Father; which made his Death no less honourable than his Life.



The Comparison of Fabius with Pericles.

YOU have here had the Lives of two Persons very Illustrious for their Civil and Military Endowments: Let us first compare them in their Warlike Capacity. *Pericles* presided in his Commonwealth, when it was in a most flourishing and opulent Condition, great in Power, and happy in Success; so that He seemed to stand rather supported by, than supporting, the Fortune of his Country. But the Business of *Fabius*, who undertook the Government in the worst and most difficult times, was not to conserve and maintain the well-establish'd Felicity of a prosperous State, but to raise and uphold a sinking and ruinous Commonwealth. Besides, the Victories of *Cimon*, of *Myronides* and *Leocrates*,

Leocrates, with those many famous Exploits of *Tolmides*, were made use of by *Pericles*, only to entertain the People at home, and to please their Fancy with Triumphs, Feasts, and Games of the *Circus* and Theater; not to enlarge their Empire by prosecuting the War: Whereas *Fabius*, when He took upon him the Government, had the frightful Object before his Eyes, of *Roman* Armies destroyed, of their Generals and Consuls slain, of all the Countries round strewed with the dead Bodies, and the Rivers stained with the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens; and yet with his mature and solid Counsels, with the firmness of his Resolution, he, as it were, put his Shoulders to the falling Commonwealth, and kept it up, notwithstanding the Breaches had been made in it. (1) Perhaps it may be more easy to govern a City broken and tam'd with Calamities and Adversity, and compelled to obey by Danger and Necessity, than to rule a People pampered and resty with long Prosperity, as were the *Athenians* when *Pericles* held the Reins of Government. But then again, not to be daunted nor discomposed with the vast heap of Calamities under which the People of *Rome* did at that time groan, argues the Temper of *Fabius* to be invincible, and his Courage more than human.

We may set *Tarentum* re-taken, against *Samos* won by *Pericles*; and with the Conquest of *Eubœa*

(1) It is a Question in Politics that has been much controverted, and *Plutarch* himself has somewhere started it, whether it is more desirable for a Statesman to take upon him the Government of a Community, when it is humbled, and broken by its Misfortunes, or when it is puffed up, and ready to burst with the full Tide of its Prosperities, as it were leading Fortune in a String. *Plutarch* declares here for the former, and I think he has reason. A People pampered with Success must be an ungovernable Monster. For, as *Plutarch* has observ'd in the Life of *Pericles*, it is not possible for a potent People, possessed of an extensive Command, not to be agitated by a Gust of Passions and Affections, with which the Conflict must be violent, and the Success uncertain.

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we may put in balance the Towns of *Campania* regain'd by *Fabius*; tho' *Capua* it self was afterwards subdued by the Consuls *Furius* and *Appius*. I do not find that *Fabius* won any set Battel, but That against the *Ligurians*, for which he had his Triumph; whereas *Pericles* erected nine Trophies for as many Victories obtained by Land and by Sea. But no Action of *Pericles* can be compared to that memorable Rescue of *Minutius*, when *Fabius* redeemed both Him and his Army from utter Destruction; an Action, which comprehends the height of Valour, of Conduct, and Humanity. On the other side, it does not appear, that *Pericles* was ever so over-reach'd as *Fabius* was by *Hannibal* with his flaming Oxen; never was there so certain, and so great an Advantage lost over an Enemy: For in the Valley of *Casilinum*, *Hannibal* was shut up without any possibility of forcing his way out, and yet by Stratagem in the Night he frees himself out of those Straits; and when Day was come, worsted the Enemy, who had him before at his Mercy.

It is the part of a good General, not only to provide for, and judge well of the present, but also to have a clear foresight of things to come. In this *Pericles* excelled, for he admonished the *Athenians*, and told them before-hand, what Ruin their War would bring upon them, by grasping more than they were able to manage. But *Fabius* was not so good a Prophet, when he denounced to the *Romans*, that the undertaking of *Scipio* would be the Destruction of the Commonwealth. So that *Pericles* was a good Prophet of bad Success, and *Fabius* was a bad Prophet of Success that was good; and indeed, to lose an Advantage through diffidence, is no less blameable in a General, than to fall into danger for want of foresight: For both these faults, tho' of a contrary nature, spring from the same root, which is want of Judgment and Experience.

And for their Civil Policy ; it is imputed to *Pericles*, that he was a lover of War, and that no terms of Peace, offered by the *Lacedæmonians*, would content him. It is true, that *Fabius* also was not for yielding any thing to the *Carthaginians*, but would rather hazard all, than lessen the Empire of *Rome*; yet this difference there was between them, that *Fabius* made War only to preserve and recover his Own, and *Pericles* to gain what belonged to Others. But then, the Mildness of *Fabius* towards his Colleague *Minutius* does, by way of Comparison, highly reproach and condemn *Pericles*, for his Eager Prosecution of *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, who held with the Nobility, and were true lovers of their Country, and yet by his Practices were forced to leave it. Indeed, the Authority of *Pericles* in *Athens* was much greater than That of *Fabius* in *Rome* ; for which reason it was more easy for him to prevent miscarriages commonly arising from weakness and insufficiency of Officers, since he had got the sole nomination and management of them; only *Tolmides* broke loose from him, and, contrary to his Orders, unadvisedly fought with the *Bæotians*, and was slain; whereas *Fabius*, for want of that general Power and Influence upon the Officers, had not the means to obviate their Miscarriages ; but it had been happy for the *Romans* if his Authority had been greater ; for so, we may presume, their Disasters had been fewer.

As to their Liberality and publick Spirit, *Pericles* was eminent in never taking any Gifts, and *Fabius* for giving his own Money to ransom his Soldiers; tho' the sum did not exceed six Talents. This right we must do *Pericles*, that no Man had ever greater Opportunities to enrich himself (as having had Presents offered him from so many Kings and Princes, and States of his Alliances) yet no Man was ever more free from Corruption. And

And for the beauty and magnificence of Temples and publick Edifices, with which he adorned his Country, it must be confess'd, that all the Ornaments and Structures of *Rome*, to the time of the *Cæsars*, had nothing to compare, either in greatness of Design, or of Expence, with the Lustre of Those which *Pericles* only erected at *Athens*.





THE
L I F E
O F
ALCIBIADES.



Alcibiades, as it is supposed, was anciently descended from *Eurysaces*, the Son of *Ajax*, by his Father's side, and by his Mother's side from *Alcmeon*; for *Dinomache*, his Mother, was the Daughter of *Megacles*. His Father *Clinias*, having fitted out a Galley at his own Expence, gained great Honour in a Sea-fight near *Artimifium*, and was afterwards slain in the Battel of *Coronea*, fighting against the *Bæotians*; *Pericles*, and *Ariphron*, the Sons of *Xantippus*, being nearly related to *Alcibiades*, were his Guardians. 'Tis said, and not untruly, that the Kindness and Friendship which *Socrates* shewed to him, did very much contribute to his Fame. Hence it is, that tho' we have not an Account from any Writer, who was the Mother of *Nicias* or *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus* or *Phormio*, of *Thrasymbulus* or *Theramenes*, notwithstanding they were all of them



mosthenes, of *Lamachus* or *Phormio*, of *Thrasylbulus* or *Theramenes*, notwithstanding they were all of them Illustrious Persons, and of the same Age; yet we know even the Nurse of *Alcibiades*, that her Country was *Lacedæmon*, and her Name, *Amyclas*; and that *Zopyrus* was his Schoolmaster; the One being recorded by *Antisthenes*, and the Other by *Plato*.

It is not perhaps material to say any thing of the Beauty of *Alcibiades*, (1) only that it lasted with him in all the Ages of his Life, in his Infancy, in his Youth, and in his Manhood; and thereby rendered him lovely and agreeable to every one. For it is not universal what *Euripides* saith, that,

Of all Fair Things the Autumn is most Fair.

But this happened to *Alcibiades*, amongst few Others, by reason of his happy Composition, and the natural Vigour of his Body. It is said, that his Lisping, when he spoke, became him well, and gave a Grace to his Pronunciation. *Aristophanes* takes notice (2) that he lisped, in those Verses wherein he jeers *Theorus*, because *Alcibiades*, speaking of him, instead of *Κόραξ*, pronounced *Κόλαξ*, and so call'd him Flatterer unawares to himself. From whence the Poet takes occasion to observe,

(1) *Justin* in his Encomium upon the Beauty of *Alcibiades*, makes use of a very remarkable Expression. *Erat enim*, saith He, *& Ætatis flore, & Formæ Veneratione insignis*. That *Veneratio Formæ* is very significant, and gives us a strong Idea of the Efficacy of Beauty, which immediately attracts the Respect and Homage of the Beholders.

(2) They that lisp, or speak

thick, generally pronounce an *l* instead of an *r*. *Alcibiades* meant to say that *Theorus* was an avaricious Person, that he grip'd with both his Fists, and was in reality a rapacious Raven, *Κόραξ*, which was very true; but instead of *Κόραξ*, he call'd him *Κόλαξ*, a Flatterer, which was equally true of *Theorus*, for he was a most pestilent Flatterer.

How very luckily he lisp'd the Truth.

Archippus also makes mention of it, thus reflecting upon the Son of *Alcibiades*.

*His Father he will imitate in all;
Like one dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury,
(1) His long loose Robe he seems to draw with Pain,
Carelessly leans his Head, and in his Talk
Affects to lisp.*

His Manners were very different; nor is it strange that they varied according to the many and wonderful Vicissitudes of his Fortune.

He was naturally subject to great Passions, but the most prevailing of all was (2) his Ambition, and Desire to be esteem'd the First: which appear'd by several memorable things spoken by him, whilst he was a Child. Once being hard press'd in Wrestling, and fearing to be thrown, he got the Hand of the Person who strove with him, to his Mouth, and bit it with all his Force; his Adversary loos'd his Hold presently, and said, *Thou bitest, Alcibiades, like a Woman*: No, replied he, *I bite like a Lion*. Another time as he played at Cockal in the Street, being then but a Boy, a loaded Cart came that way, when it was his turn to throw; at first he requir'd the Driver to stay, because he was to cast in the way over which the Cart was to pass; but the rude Fellow did not hearken to him, and driving

(1) A long loose Robe trailing on the Ground was among the *Grecians* a certain Sign of a weak Mind. For this Reason the *Romans* call'd their soft effeminate Fops *discinctos*, as the *Cincti* and *Cinctuti* were their Men of Courage and Bravery. Thus *Horace* in the 2d Satyr of his 1st Book.

Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat.

It is very certain that one may often guess at the Habit of the Mind from That of the Body.

(2) This *Socrates* charges him with to his Face in *Plato's* first *Alcibiades*.

on still, when the rest of the Boys divided and gave way, *Alcibiades* threw himself on his Face before the Cart, and stretching himself out, bid the Carter drive on, if he would: This so startled the Man, that he put back his Horses, while all that saw it were terrified, and crying out, ran to assist *Alcibiades*. When he began to study, he obeyed all his other Masters with great Respect, but refused to learn to play upon the Flute, as a sordid thing, and not becoming a Gentleman; for he would say, *To play on the Lute or the Harp does not Disorder the Posture of a Man's Body, or the Air of his Face; but One is hardly to be known by his most intimate Friends when he plays on the Flute. Besides, he who plays on the Harp, may discourse or sing at the same time; but the use of the Flute does so contract the Mouth, that the Voice is intercepted, and all Speech taken away. Therefore, said he, let the Theban Youths pipe, because they know not how to discourse; but we Athenians (as our Ancestors have told us) have Minerva for our Patroness, and Apollo for our Protector, (1) One of which threw away the Flute, and the Other stripp'd off His Skin who play'd upon it.* Thus between Raillery and good Earnest, *Alcibiades* not only kept Himself, but Others, from learning upon that Instrument; for it presently became the Talk of the young Gentlemen, that *Alcibiades*, with good Reason, despised the Art of playing on the Flute, and ridicul'd

(1) The Reader may find this Fable at large in the first Book of *Apollodorus*. *Aristotle* saith that this Invention of the Antients, wherein it is pretended that *Minerva* threw away the Flute, because she grew sensible that it disfigured her Face, and quite destroyed her Beauty, was not ill conceived. But he would have it rather be believ'd that she despis'd it, because it no ways tended to the promoting of Ingenuity. She was the Goddess of the Arts and Sciences, and of Eloquence, all which without the use of Speech would be dead and useless.

Those who studied it. (1) Whereupon it quickly ceas'd to be reckon'd among the Liberal Arts, and became universally exploded.

It is reported in the Invective which *Antiphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, That once when he was a Boy, he fled to the House of *Democrates*, one of his Lovers, and that *Ariphron* had determined to cause Proclamation to be made for him, had not *Pericles* diverted him from it, by saying, *That if he were dead, the proclaiming of him could only cause it to be discover'd one Day sooner ; and if he were safe, it would be a Reproach to him whilst he liv'd.* *Antiphon* does also say, That in *Syburtius's* School, or Place of Exercises, he flew one of his own Servants with the Blow of a Staff. But it may be unreasonable to give Credit to all that is objected by an Enemy, who makes profession of his Design to defame him.

It was manifest, that the many Persons of Quality, who were continually waiting upon him, and making their Court to him, were surpriz'd and captivated by his extraordinary Beauty only. But the Affection which *Socrates* express'd for *Alcibiades*, was a great Evidence of his Virtue and good Disposition, which *Socrates* perceiv'd to appear and shine through the Beauty of his Person; and fearing lest his Wealth and Quality, and the great Number both of Strangers and *Athenians*, who flatter'd and caress'd him, might at last corrupt him, he therefore resolv'd to interpose and take care to preserve so hopeful a Plant from perishing in the Flower, and before its Fruit

(1) *Alcibiades* his Example was of more Prevalency with the *Athenians* than That of the Goddess. To what purpose did *Minerva* throw away the Flute? since it continued to be in vogue over all Greece, and especially at *Athens*, where Those of the greatest Quality learn'd to play upon it. But *Alcibiades* had no sooner signified his Dislike of it when it was flung off at once, and remained in use only among their Slaves.

came to Perfection. For, never did Fortune surround and enclose a Man with so many of those things which we vulgarly call Goods, (1) whereby to keep him from being touched or approached by the free and clear Reasonings of Philosophy, as she did *Alcibiades*; who from the beginning was softned by the Flatteries of Those who convers'd with him, and hindred from hearkning to Such as would advise or instruct him. Yet such was the Happiness of his Genius, that he discern'd *Socrates* from the rest, and admitted him, whilst he drove away the Wealthy and the Noble who made court to him; and in a little time they grew into a Familiarity. *Alcibiades* observing that his Discourses aimed not at any effeminate Pleasures of Love, nor sought any thing wanton or dishonest, but laid open to him the Imperfections of his Mind, and repress'd his vain and foolish Arrogance;

Then like the Craven Cock he hung his Wings,

Esteeming these Endeavours of *Socrates*, as Means which the Gods made use of, for the Instruction and Preservation of Youth. So that he began to think meanly of himself, and to admire *Socrates*; to be pleas'd with his Kindness, and to stand in awe of his Virtue: and unawares to himself, there was form'd in his Mind an Idea of Love, or rather of that mutual Affection whereof *Plato* speaks. Insomuch that all Men wondred at *Alcibiades*, when they saw *Socrates* and Him eat together, do their Exercises together, and lodge in the same Tent;

(1) They succeeded so well for some time, that *Alcibiades* wallowed in all the Luxury and Wantonness imaginable, whilst *Socrates* follow'd him at a Distance without speaking to him, well-knowing he was not then in a Dispo-

sition to hear, much less to be touch'd with his Precepts. One may see in *Plato's* first *Alcibiades*, how *Socrates* in the long Run insinuated himself into the Opinion of that ambitious Youth.

whilst

whilst he was reserv'd and rough to all Others who made their Addresses to him, and carried himself with great Insolence to Some of them. As in particular to *Anytus* the Son of *Anthemion*, one who was very fond of him, and invited him to an Entertainment which he had prepared for some Strangers: *Alcibiades* refused the Invitation; but having drank to Excess at his own House with some of his Companions, he went thither to play some Frolick; and as he stood at the Door of the Room where the Guests were treated, and perceiv'd the Tables to be cover'd with Vessels of Gold and Silver, (1) he commanded his Servants to take away the one half of them, and carry them to his own House; and then disdaining so much as to enter into the Room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The Company was extreamly offended at the Action, and said, he behav'd himself rudely and insolently towards *Anytus*: But *Anytus* made Answer, that he had used him kindly and with great Humanity, in that he left him Part, when he might have taken All. He behav'd himself after the same sort to all Others who courted him, except only one Stranger, who (as it is reported) having but a small Estate, sold it all for about a hundred Staters, which he presented to *Alcibiades*, and besought him to accept it:

(1) It is something strange that *Plutarch* should give Credit to a Tradition so disadvantageous to the Character of *Alcibiades*, for according to the Account he gives of his Behaviour on this Occasion, it looks as if Interest had a greater Share in it than any Design of putting an affront upon *Anytus*. *Athenaus* puts this Piece of History in a much better Light. He writes that *Alcibiades* going in Masquerade to *Anytus* his House with a Friend of His call'd *Thrasyllus*,

who was but in mean Circumstances, and observing the Side-board well stor'd with Plate of Gold as well as Silver; he went up to it and drank *Thrasyllus* his Health, and when he had done, he ordered his Slaves that attended him to take half of what they saw in the Buffet, and carry it to *Thrasyllus* his House. He took this Plate from One of his Lovers that was wealthy, to bestow it on Another that was indigent, without touching any of it himself.

Alci-

Alcibiades smiling, and well-pleas'd at the thing, invited him to Supper, and after a very kind Entertainment, gave him his Gold again, withal requiring him not to fail to be present the next Day, when the publick Revenue was offered to Farm, and to out-bid all Others. The Man would have excus'd himself, because the Farm was so great, and would be let for many Talents; but *Alcibiades*, who had at that time a private Pique against the old Farmers, threatned to have him beaten if he refused. The next Morning the Stranger coming to the Market-place, offer'd a Talent more than the old Rent: The Farmers were enraged at him, and consulting together, call'd upon him to name such as would be Sureties for him, concluding that he could find None. The poor Man being startled at the Proposal, began to sneak off; but *Alcibiades*, standing at a distance, cried out to the Magistrates, *Set my Name down, he is a Friend of Mine, and I will undertake for him.* When the old Farmers heard This, they perceiv'd that their whole Contrivance defeated; for their way was, with the Profits of the present Year to pay the Rent of the Year preceding; so that not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the Difficulty, they began to entreat the Stranger, and offer'd him a Sum of Money. *Alcibiades* would not suffer him to accept of less than a Talent; but when that was paid down, he commanded him to relinquish the Bargain, having by this Device reliev'd his Necessity.

Tho' *Socrates* had many and powerful Rivals, yet He still prevail'd most with *Alcibiades*, by reason of the Excellency of his natural Parts. His Discourses mastered him to that degree, as not only to draw Tears from his Eyes, but to Change his very Soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to Flatterers, when they propos'd to him Varieties of Pleasure, and would desert *Socrates*; who

who then would pursue him, as if he had been a fugitive Slave. The truth is, *Alcibiades* despis'd all others, and did reverence and stand in Awe of Him alone. And therefore it was that *Cleanthes* said, He had given his Ear to *Socrates*, but to his Rivals other Parts of his Body, with which *Socrates* would not meddle. For *Alcibiades* was certainly very much addicted to Pleasures, and that which *Thucydides* says, concerning his Excesses in his course of Living, gives occasion to believe so. But Those who endeavour'd to corrupt *Alcibiades*, took advantage chiefly of his Vanity and Ambition, and thrust him on to undertake unseasonably great things, persuading him, that as soon as he began to concern himself in publick Affairs, he would not only obscure the rest of the Generals and Statesmen, but exceed the Authority and the Reputation which *Pericles* himself had gain'd in *Greece*. But in the same manner as Iron, which is softened by the Fire, grows hard with the Cold, and all its Parts are clos'd again; so as often as *Socrates* observed *Alcibiades* to be mis-led by Luxury or Pride, he reduced and corrected him by his Discourses, and made him humble and modest, by shewing him in how many things he was deficient, and how very far from Perfection in Virtue.

When he was past his Childhood, he went once to a Grammar-School, and ask'd the Master for one of *Homer's* Books; and he making Answer, that he had nothing of *Homer's*, *Alcibiades* gave him a Blow with his Fist, and went away. Another School-master telling him that he had *Homer* corrected by himself; *How*, said *Alcibiades*, and do you imploy your Time in Teaching Children to read? You, who are able to amend *Homer*, may well undertake to instruct Men. Being once desirous to speak with *Pericles*, he went to his House, and was told there, that he was not at leisure, but busied in considering how to give up

up his Accounts to the *Athenians*; *Alcibiades*, as he went away, said, *It were better for him to consider how he might avoid giving up any Accounts at all.*

Whilst he was very young, he was a Soldier in the Expedition against *Potidaea*, where *Socrates* lodg'd in the same Tent with him, and seconded him in all Encounters. Once there happen'd a sharp Skirmish, wherein they Both behav'd themselves with much Bravery; but *Alcibiades* receiving a Wound there, *Socrates* threw himself before him, to defend him, and most manifestly fav'd Him and his Arms from the Enemy, and therefore in all Justice might have challeng'd the Prize of Valour. But the Generals appearing in earnest to adjudge the Honour to *Alcibiades*, because of his Quality, *Socrates*, who desir'd to encrease his Thirst after Glory, was the first who gave Evidence for him, and press'd them to crown Him, and to decree to Him the compleat Suit of Armour. Afterwards in the Battel of *Delium*, when the *Athenians* were routed, and *Socrates*, with a few others, (1) was retreating on Foot, *Alcibiades*, who was on Horseback, observing it, would not pass on, but staid to shelter him from the Danger, and brought him safe off, tho' the Enemy press'd hard upon them, and cut off many of the Party. (2) But this happened some time after.

He gave a Box on the Ear to *Hipponicus*, the Father of *Callias*, whose Birth and Wealth made him a Person of great Power and Esteem. And this he did unprovok'd by any Passion or Quarrel between them, but only because in a Frolick he

(1) He retreated in good Order, making a Stand now and then upon Occasion. *Laches* who accompany'd him, gives this Testimony of him in *Plato*, that if all the rest had behav'd like *Socrates* the *Athenians* had not been so shamefully worsted.

(2) It was eight Years after. For the Action at *Potidaea* happen'd in the first Year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, and That at *Delium* the first Year of the eighty-ninth.

had

had agreed with his Companions to do it. All Men were justly offended at this Insolence, when it was known through the City: But early the next Morning *Alcibiades* went to his House, and knock'd at the Door, and being admitted to him, stripp'd off his Garment, and presenting his naked Body, desir'd him to beat and chastize him as he pleas'd. Upon this *Hipponicus* forgot all his Resentment, and not only pardon'd him, but soon after gave him his Daughter *Hipparete* in Marriage. Some say, that it was not *Hipponicus*, but his Son *Callias*, who gave *Hipparete* to *Alcibiades*, together with a Portion of ten Talents; and that after, when she had a Child, *Alcibiades* forced him to give ten Talents more, upon Pretence that such was the Agreement if she brought him any Children. And yet after, *Callias*, for fear of being Assassinated by him, in a full Assembly of the People, did declare, that if he should happen to die without Children, *Alcibiades* should inherit his House and all his Goods. *Hipparete* was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband; but at last growing impatient of the Injuries done to her Marriage-bed, by his continual entertaining of Curtezans, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retir'd to her Brother's House. *Alcibiades* seem'd not at all concern'd at it, and liv'd on still in the same Luxury; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by Proxy, the Instrument whereby she sought a Divorce; when, in Obedience to the Law, she presented herself before him to perform this, *Alcibiades* came in, and took her away by force, and carried her home through the Market-place, no one all this while daring to oppose him, nor to take her from him. And she continued with him 'till her Death, which happen'd not long after, when *Alcibiades* made his Voyage to *Ephesus*.
Nor

Nor was this Violence to be thought so very enormous or unmanly; For, the Law, in making Her who desires to be divorced, appear in Publick, seems to design to give her Husband an Opportunity of discoursing with her, and of endeavouring to retain her. *Alcibiades* had a Dog which cost him seventy *Mina*, and was a very great one, and very handsome; his Tail, which was his principal Ornament, he caus'd to be cut off; and his Acquaintance chiding him for it, and telling him, that all *Athens* was sorry for the Dog, and cried out upon him for this Action; he laugh'd, and said, *It is then come to pass as I desired; for I would have the Athenians entertain themselves with the Discourse of This, lest they should be talking something worse of me.*

It is said, that the first time he came into the Assembly, was upon occasion of a Largess of Money, which he made to the People. This was not done by Design, but as he pass'd along he heard a Shout, and enquiring the Cause, and having learn'd that there was a Donative made to the People, he went in amongst them, and gave Money also. The Multitude thereupon applauding him, and shouting, he was so transported at it, that he forgot (1) a Quail which he had under his Robe, and the Bird being frighted with the noise, fled from him: Thereupon the People made louder Ac-

(1) The Fops of those times were to a Madness fond of breeding Quails, as appears from several Passages in their Writings, particularly in a Comedy of *Eupolis* cited by *Atheneus*. *Alcibiades* had the same Taste that way with the rest, which drew upon him that severe Piece of Rallery from *Socrates*, who when he had made it appear in the first *Alcibiades* of *Plato*, that the way to excel,

and have the chief command among the *Athenians*, was to study to surpass the Generals of their Enemies in Ability and Courage, and when he had brought *Alcibiades* to acknowledge the Truth of it, he reply'd with a mortifying Irony, No, No, my Dear *Alcibiades*, your only study is how to surpass that same *Midas* in the Art of breeding Quails.

clamations than before, and many of them rose up to pursue the Bird; but one *Antiochus*, a Pilot, caught it, and restor'd it to him, (1) for which he was ever after very dear to *Alcibiades*.

He had great Advantages to introduce himself into the Management of Affairs: His noble Birth, his Riches, the personal Courage he had shewn in divers Battels, and the Multitude of his Friends and Dependants. But, above all the rest, he chose to make himself considerable to the People by his Eloquence: That he was a Master in the Art of Speaking, the Comick Poets bear him witness; and *Demosthenes*, the most Eloquent of Men, in his Oration against *Midias*, does allow, that *Alcibiades*, among other Perfections, was a most exact Orator. And if we give Credit to *Theophrastus*, who of all Philosophers was the most curious Enquirer, and the most faithful Relater, he says, that *Alcibiades* was very happy at inventing Things proper to be said upon the Occasion. Nor did he consider the Things only which ought to be said, but also what Words and what Expressions were to be us'd; and when Those did not readily occur, he would often pause in the middle of his Discourse for want of apt Words, and would be silent and stop till he could recollect himself, and had consider'd what to say.

His Expences in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the Number of his Chariots, were very magnificent: for never any one besides himself, either private Person or King, sent seven Chariots to the *Olympick Games*. He carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth Prize, as *Thucydides* says, or the third, as *Euripides* relates

(1) Inſomuch that he entrusted him with the Command of the Fleet in his Abſence, as we ſhall ſoon learn from *Plutarch*, which had like to have been very fatal to the *Athenians*, for he was beaten.

it ; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind. *Euripydes* celebrates his Success in this manner;

*Thee, lovely Son of Clinias, will I sing,
Thy Triumphs down to future Ages bring.
Thou, Pride of Greece ! which never saw 'till now
So many Crowns adorn one conqu'ring Brow.
With how much Ease the threefold Prize he gains,
And smiles to see from far his Rivals Pains;
Their Chariots lagging on the distant Plains:
His Temples thrice the willing Judges Crown,
And gen'ral Shouts do the just Sentence own.*

The Emulation Those who contended with him expressed in the Presents which they made to him, rendred his Success the more Illustrious. The *Ephesians* erected a Tent for him adorn'd magnificently: (1) The City of *Chios* furnished him with Provender for his Horses, and with great Numbers of Beasts for Sacrifice. And the *Lesbians* sent him Wine and other Provisions, for the many great Entertainments which he made. Yet in the midst of all this, he escap'd not without Censure, occasioned either by the Malice of

(1) *Antisthenes*, One of *Socrates* his Disciples, writes that *Chios* fed his Horses, and *Cysicus* provided his Victims. The Passage is very remarkable, for it appears by it, that This was not done only when *Alcibiades* went to the Olympick Games, but was observ'd likewise in all his warlike Expeditions and Voyages. Whenever, saith he, *Alcibiades* travelled, four Cities of the Allies minister'd to him as his Hand-maids. *Ephesus* furnish'd him with Tents as sumptuous as Those of the Persians. *Chios* found

Provender for his Horses, *Cysicus* supply'd him with Victims, and Provisions for his Table; and *Lesbos* with Wine, and all other necessaries for his Family. None but opulent Cities were able to answer such an Expence; for at that time when *Alcibiades* obtain'd the first, second, and third Prize in the Olympick Games, after he had perform'd a very costly Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he entertained at a magnificent Repast that innumerable Company that had assisted at the Games.

his Enemies, or by his own ill Carriage: For 'tis said, that one *Diomedes*, an *Athenian*, a good Man and a Friend to *Alcibiades*, passionately desiring to obtain the Victory at the *Olympick Games*, and having heard much of a Chariot which belong'd to the State at *Argos*, where he had observ'd that *Alcibiades* had great Power and many Friends, he prevail'd with him to undertake to buy the Chariot. *Alcibiades* did indeed buy it, but then claim'd it for his Own, leaving *Diomedes* to rage at him, and to call upon the Gods and Men to bear witness of the Injustice. There was a Suit at Law commenc'd upon this occasion; and there is yet extant an Oration concerning a Chariot, written by *Isocrates* in Defence of *Alcibiades*, then a Youth. But there the Plaintiff in the Action is named *Tisias*, and not *Diomedes*.

As soon as he began to intermeddle in the Government, which was when he was very young, he quickly lessen'd the Credit of All who pretended to lead the People, except *Pheax* the Son of *Erastratus*, and *Nicias* the Son of *Niceratus*, who alone durst contend with him. *Nicias* was arriv'd at the Age which is proper for War, and was esteem'd an excellent General; but *Pheax* was but beginning to grow in Reputation, (as *Alcibiades* was.) He was descended of Noble Ancestors, but was inferior to *Alcibiades*, as in many other things, so principally in Eloquence. He could speak well, and had the Art of persuading in private Conversation, but could not maintain a Debate before the People; That being true which (1) *Eupolis* said of

(1) We may observe here the different Sense of the Words *λαλᾶν* and *λέγειν*. One is what We call to *prate*, or *chatter*, and the other to *speak*, that is to *speak well*, or to the Purpose. *Salust* has this Passage of *Eupolis* in view

when he saith *loquax magis quam facundus*, more talkative than eloquent. The Reader may see what *Aulus Gellius* saith upon this Subject, in his first Book, Chap. xv.

him, That *he could talk well, but was not good at making Speeches.* There is extant an Oration written against *Pheax* and *Alcibiades*, wherein, amongst other things, it is said, that *Alcibiades* made daily use at his Table of many Gold and Silver Vessels, which belong'd to the Commonwealth, as if they had been his Own.

There was one *Hyperbolus*, a Native of *Peritboide*, (of whom *Thucydides* makes mention as of a very ill Man) who furnish'd Matter to all the Writers of Comedy in that Age for their Satyrs. But he was unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of Glory, he was also insensible of Shame. There are Some who call This Boldness and Courage, whereas it is indeed Impudence and Madness. He was lik'd by no Body, yet the People made a frequent Use of him, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any Persons in Authority. At this time the People by his Persuasions were ready to proceed to pronounce the Sentence of ten Years Banishment, which they called *Ostracism*. This was a way they made use of to lessen and drive out of the City such Citizens, as exceeded the rest in Credit and Power, therein consulting their Envy rather than their Fear. And when at this time there was no doubt but that the *Ostracism* would fall upon One of those three, *Alcibiades* contriv'd to unite their several Factions; and communicating his Project with *Nicias*, he turn'd the Sentence upon *Hyperbolus* himself. Others say, that it was not with *Nicias* but *Pheax* that he consulted, and that by the help of His Party, he procured the Banishment of *Hyperbolus* Himself, when he suspected nothing less. For never any mean or obscure Person fell under that Punishment before that time. Which gave occasion to *Plato* the Comick Poet, speaking of this *Hyperbolus*, to say that he was

*Worthy to suffer what he did, and more,
But not in such an honourable way:
The abject Wretch the Sentence did disgrace.*

But we have in another place given a fuller Account of All that History has delivered down to us of this matter.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the Reputation which *Nicias* had gain'd amongst the Enemies of *Athens*, than at the Honours which the *Athenians* themselves paid to him. (1) For tho' *Alcibiades* was the Person who did publickly receive the *Lacedæmonians* when they came to *Athens*, and took particular Care of such of them as were made Prisoners at the Fort of *Pylos*, yet after They had obtained the Peace and Restitution of the Captives by the Procurement of *Nicias*, they began to respect Him above all Others. And it was commonly said in *Greece*, That the War was begun by *Pericles*, and that *Nicias* made an end of it; and therefore, as being his Work, this Peace was by most Men called the *Nician Peace*. *Alcibiades* was extreamly troubled at This; and being full of Envy, set himself to break the League. First therefore observing that the *Argives*, as well out of Fear as Hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, sought for Protection against them, he gave them a secret Assurance of a League offensive and defensive with *Athens*. And transacting as well in Person as by Letters, with Those who had most Authority amongst the People, he

(1) *Thucydides* in his fifth Book saith, that *Alcibiades* his Family had an antient Right of Hospitality with the *Lacedæmonians*; that his Grandfather had disclaim'd that Right, but that *Alcibiades* studied to restore it by doing the *Spartan* Prisoners all the good Offices that lay in his Power; and it nettled him to the quick to see that notwithstanding the antient Right of Hospitality, which had in all times pass'd link'd his Family to Them, and notwithstanding the great Care he had taken of the Prisoners, yet they seem'd more inclin'd to *Nicias* than to Him.

encouraged them neither to fear the *Lacedæmonians*, nor submit to them, but to betake themselves to the *Athenians*, who, if they would expect but a little while, would repent of the Peace, and soon put an end to it. And afterwards, when the *Lacedæmonians* had made a League with the *Bœotians*, and had not delivered up *Panaetum* entire, as they ought to have done by the Treaty, but defac'd and slighted it, which gave great Offence to the People of *Athens*, *Alcibiades* laid hold of that Opportunity to exasperate them more highly. He exclaim'd fiercely against *Nicias*, and accus'd him of many things, which seem'd probable enough: As that when he was General, he would not seize upon those Men who were deserted by the Enemy's Army, (1) and left in the Isle of *Sphacteria*; and that when they were afterwards made Prisoners by Others, he procur'd them to be released, and sent back to the *Lacedæmonians*, only to get favour with Them; that he would not make use of his Credit with them, to prevent their entring into this Confederacy with the *Bœotians*, and *Corinthians*: and yet, on the other side, he sought to hinder those *Grecians* who were inclined to make an Alliance and Friendship with *Athens*, if the *Lacedæmonians* were not pleased with it.

It happened at the very time when *Nicias* was by these Arts brought into Disgrace with the People, that Ambassadors arriv'd from *Lacedæmon*,

(1) After the *Lacedæmonians* had lost the Fortress of *Pylos* in *Messenia*, they left in the Isle of *Sphacteria*, which lay over-against it at the Mouth of the Haven, a Garrison of three hundred and twenty Men, besides their *Helotes*, under the Command of *Epitadas* the Son of *Molobrus*. *Nicias* neglected making himself Master of that Isle during the time he was Ge-

neral; but *Cleon*, who in Conjunction with *Demosthenes* succeeded him in the Command of the Army, got Possession after a long Dispute, wherein several of the Garrison were slain, and the rest made Prisoners, and sent to *Athens*. Among those Prisoners, were an hundred and twenty *Spartans*, whom *Nicias* got afterwards to be releas'd.

who at their first coming, said what seemed very satisfactory, declaring that they had full Power to concert all Matters in difference upon equal Terms. The Council received their Propositions, and the People was to assemble on the morrow to give them Audience. (1) *Alcibiades* grew very apprehensive of This, and ordered matters so, that he had a secret Conference with the Ambassadors. When they were met, he said, (2) *What is it you intend, you Men of Sparta? Can you be ignorant, that the Council always carry themselves with Moderation and Respect towards Ambassadors, but that the People are haughty, and affect great Things: So that if you let them know what full Powers your Commission gives you, they will urge and press you to yield to unreasonable Conditions. Quit therefore this indiscreet Method, if you expect to obtain equal Terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your Inclination; and begin to treat with the People upon some reasonable Articles, not owning at the first that you are Plenipotentiaries, and I will be ready to assist you, as being very zealous to serve the Lacedæmonians.* When he had said thus, he gave them his Oath for the Performance of what he promised; and by this way drew them from *Nicias* to rely entirely upon himself, and to admire Him as a Person extraordinary for Wisdom and Dexterity in Affairs. The next Day, when the People were assembled, and the Ambassadors introduced, *Alcibiades* with great Civility demanded of them

(1) He was afraid lest the People being lur'd by these Ambassadors, should come to an Agreement with the *Lacedæmonians*, and reject the *Argive* Alliance, which would have broken all his Measures.

(2) *Thucydides*, who relates this Transaction in his fifth Book, saith

nothing of the Speech made by *Alcibiades* to the Ambassadors. I cannot guess where *Plutarch* found it; possibly he might draw it out of some Memoirs, which are now lost; and possibly it may be of his own making: It is certain he enters very justly into *Alcibiades* his Motives, and Sentiments.

with

with what Powers they were come? They made Answer, That they were not come as Plenipotentiaries.

Instantly upon that, *Alcibiades* with a loud Voice (as tho' he had received, and not done the Wrong) began to call them faithless and inconstant, and to shew that such Men could not possibly come with a Purpose to say or do any thing that was sincere. The Council was highly incens'd, the People were in a Rage; and *Nicias*, who knew nothing of the Deceit and the Imposture, was in the greatest Confusion imaginable, being equally surprized and ashamed at such a Change in the Men. (1) So that without more ado, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors were utterly rejected, and *Alcibiades* was declar'd General, who presently drew the *Argives*, the *Elians*, and Those of *Mantineæ*, into a Confederacy with the *Athenians*.

(2) No Man commended the Method by which *Alcibiades* effected all This, yet it was a great Reach in the Politicks, thus to divide and shake almost all

(1) This was not done at the same time, and in the same Meeting, which broke up by means of an Earthquake that happen'd whilst they were sitting, and was adjourn'd to the next Day, when it was resolv'd to conclude on nothing, till they had sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* to oblige the *Spartans* to break with the *Bæotians*. The *Spartans*, being led into it by the Intrigues of One of their *Ephori*, declar'd that they could not depart from that Alliance, whereupon the *Athenians* concluded a League for an hundred Years with *Argos*, *Mantineæ*, and *Elis*. *Thucydides* in his fifth Book recites this Treaty, as it is inscrib'd upon Columns of Stone at *Athens*, *Argos*, and *Mantineæ*, and upon a

Copper Plate in the Place where the *Olympick Games* are celebrated. This Treaty was concluded in the first Year of the 90th *Olympiad*, 418 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and about five or six Years after the Reduction of *Pylos* and *Sphaacteria* by the *Athenians*.

(2) There are of our modern Politicians who are not so scrupulous; in truth I do not believe there is One among them All that would be of *Plutarch's* Opinion, or disapprove the means made use of by *Alcibiades* to gain a Point of that Importance; and yet *Plutarch's* Judgment in the Case is very solid. Whatever is obtain'd by Fraud or Surprise cannot be justify'd by Reason.

Peloponnesus, and to bring together so many Men in Arms against the *Lacedæmonians* in one Day before (1) *Mantineæ*; thereby removing the War and the Danger so far from the Frontier of the *Athenians*, that even Success would profit the Enemy but little, should they be Conquerors; whereas if they were defeated, *Sparta* itself was hardly safe.

(2) After this Battel at *Mantineæ*, the Officers of the Army of the *Argives* attempted to destroy the Government of the People in *Argos*, and make Themselves Masters of the City; and by the Assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* they abolished the Democracy. But the People took Arms again; and having gain'd some Advantage, *Alcibiades* came in to their Aid, and made their Victory compleat. Then he perswaded them to build long Walls, and by that means to join their City to the Sea, that so at all times they might more securely receive Succour from the *Athenians*. To this purpose he procur'd them many Masons and Hewers of Stone from *Athens*, and in all things made shew of the greatest Zeal for their Service, and thereby gain'd no less Honour and Power to Himself, than

(1) That Battel was fought near three Years after the Conclusion of the Treaty with *Argos*. *Plutarch's* Judgment upon this Occasion is very remarkable; it is not founded upon the Event, for the *Athenians* and their Allies were worsted by the *Lacedæmonians*; and yet *Plutarch* admires the Prudence of *Alcibiades* in raising so many Enemies against them, and engaging them in a War, in which it was not possible for them to gain any thing, and wherein they ran a Risque of losing All. *Alcibiades* brags of this Fetch of Politicks, as of a very great Exploit, and saith in these very Words, *Tho' the Spartans got*

the Victory in the Battel at Mantineæ, yet they have ever since That been diffident of their own Forces. Thucyd. lib. 6.

(2) They laid hold of the Consternation the People of *Argos* were in after the loss of that Battel, for they justly concluded that they would be so much dispirited as not to be in a Condition to oppose them, so that they might prevail with ease. The *Lacedæmonians* supported them in their Undertaking, from a Persuasion that they Themselves shou'd soon be Masters of *Argos*, if they cou'd once abolish the popular Government, and establish an Aristocracy.

to the Commonwealth of *Athens*. He also persuaded the *Patræans* to join their City to the Sea, by lengthening their Walls; and when they were warn'd, That the *Athenians* would swallow them up at last, *Alcibiades* made answer, That possibly it might be so, but it would be by little and little, and beginning at the Feet; whereas the *Lacedæmonians* will begin at the Head, and devour you all at once. He did also advise the *Athenians* to make themselves strong at Land, and often put the young Men in mind (1) of the Oath which they had made at *Agraulos*, and excited them to the effectual Performance of it; for there they were wont to swear, That they would repute Wheat and Barley, and Vines and Olives to be the Limits of *Attica*; by which they were taught to claim a Title to all Lands that were manured and fruitful.

But with all these Excellent Things which he said and did, with all this Wisdom and Eloquence, he intermingled exorbitant Luxury in his Eating and Drinking, and in his Loves, join'd with great Insolence and Effeminacy. He wore a long purple Robe, which dragg'd after him as he went thro' the Market-place. He caus'd the Planks of his Galley to be cut away, that so he might lie the softer, his Bed not being placed on the Boards, but

(1) *Cecrops* had three Daughters, *Agraulos*, *Herse*, and *Pandrosos*. In the time of the War between the *Athenians* and the Inhabitants of *Eleusis*, the First consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who answer'd that the Event wou'd to Them be unprosperous, unless some One among them devoted himself for his Country. As soon as this Answer was made publick, *Agraulos* flung herself headlong from the Citadel, and by her Death procur'd the Victory for her

Granfather *Erichtheus*. In Memory of this heroick Action, the *Athenians* consecrated to *Agraulos* a Wood and Temple at the Entrance into the Citadel, and ordain'd that for the future before they set out upon any Expedition, all the Youth should be obliged to take in that Wood the Oath mentioned here by *Plutarch*, and which was a sort of devoting themselves for the Good of their Country.

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hanging upon Girths. And his Shield, which was richly gilded, (1) had not the usual Ensigns of the *Athenians*, but a *Cupid* holding a Thunder-bolt in his Hand, was painted upon it; which when Those of the best Quality in the City saw, they did not only detest it, and resent it highly, but were afraid of his dissolute Manners, and insolent Contempt of Laws, as things monstrous in themselves, and tending to a Change of the Government. *Aristophanes* has well express'd in what manner the People stood affected towards him.

*They hate him, yet they love to see him too,
Still Popular amidst his wild Debauches.*

And in another place he doth more plainly discover the Jealousie which was conceiv'd of him:

(2) *'Tis Folly to breed up an Infant Lion:
But to provoke him after, downright Madness.*

(1) The usual Ensigns of the *Athenians* were *Minerva*, the Owl, and the Olive; for in the earliest Ages, private Persons and Cities had their particular Ensigns, or as they are now called, Arms, which were properly the Emblems either of their Original, their Actions, or Inclinations. None but People of Figure and Reputation in the World were allowed to bear these Arms, and these Devices. The Shields worn by the common Soldiers were all smooth and white; for which Reason *Æschylus* calls the *Theban* Troops,

λαῖνασιν λαόν,

λαῖνασις ὄρνυ' λαός.

Virgil speaking of a Prince who had never perform'd any Exploit, expresseth it *Parmæque inglorius alba*, upon which the Reader

may see the Notes of *Servius*. I did not speak improperly when I called these Arms Devices, for there are Instances of what we call Devices among the Ancients. We meet with several in one of *Æschylus* his Tragedies, where *Capaneus* bore on his Shield the Figure of a naked Man bearing a Torch in his Hand, with this Legend, or Motto, πρήσω πόλιν, *I will burn the City*. *Eteocles* bore on His a Soldier scaling a Tower, with this Motto, *in spite of Mars himself*; and *Polinices* his Shield had on it a Man in Armour of Gold, and Justice marching before, and conducting him, with this Motto, *I will replace him on the Throne*.

(2) In the 5th Act, and 6th Scene of *Aristophanes* his *Frogs*, *Bacchus* goes down into Hell to

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The Truth is, his Liberalities, his publick Shows, and other Munificence to the People, (which were such as nothing could exceed) the Glory of his Ancestors, the Force of his Eloquence, the Loveliness of his Person, his Strength of Body join'd with his great Courage, and extraordinary Knowledge in Military Affairs, prevail'd upon the *Athenians* to endure patiently his Excesses, to indulge many things to him, and to give the softest Names to his Faults, attributing them only to his Youth and Good-Nature. (1) He kept *Agatharcus* the Painter a Prisoner, 'till he had painted his whole House, but then dismiss'd him with a Reward. He publickly struck (2) *Taureas*, who exhibited certain Shows in Opposition to him, and contended with him for

find out a good Poet, and being undetermin'd in his Choice betwixt *Æschylus* and *Euripides*, he tells them, *Well I will take Him of you Two back with me, that can best advise the State. What think you of Alcibiades?* Before they returned an Answer to his Question. *Æschylus* very prudently ask'd him, *What doth the City of Athens think of Him? What do they think?* answered *Bacchus*; *why they hate him, and yet they will have him, they can't endure to be without him.* Upon This, the two Poets give each of them his Verdict, containing their Opinion of *Alcibiades*, and their Advice to the *Athenians*. *I hate a Citizen, saith Euripides, that is slow in doing any Good for his Country. and ready to plunge her in the greatest Calamities. dexterous in shifting for himself upon Occasion, but at a Loss when any thing like it is requir'd of him for the publick.* And *Eschylus* saith, *It is a folly &c.* This wanted to be put in a clear Light.

(1) This Painter had been familiar with *Alcibiades* his Mistress; and, as a jealous Lover has his Eyes every where, *Alcibiades* caught him in the Fact, and by way of Punishment kept him Prisoner 'till he had painted his whole House for him. *Demosthenes* touches upon this Adventure in his Speech against *Midias*.

(2) This *Taureas* was Master of the Revels, as we may call it, at the same time with *Alcibiades*; that is they were each of them at the Charge of the Shows that were exhibited to the People; and as This was done with great Emulation between them, *Alcibiades*, who could not bear that any one shou'd vie with him, gave his ambitious Competitor a Box o' th' Ear in the middle of the Entertainment; but as *Demosthenes* observes in his Oration against *Midias*, the Law had not at that time made any Provision against such Outrages,

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the Prize. He took to himself one of the Captive (1) *Melian* Women, and had a Son by her, whom he took care to educate. This the *Athenians* styl'd great Humanity; and yet he was the principal Cause of the Slaughter of all the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Melos*, who were of Age to bear Arms, by speaking in favour of that cruel (2) Decree. When (3) *Aristophon* the Painter had drawn *Nemea* the Courtezan, sitting and holding *Alcibiades* in her Arms, the Multitude seem'd pleased with the Piece, and throng'd to see it; but the graver sort were highly offended, and looked on these things as great Enormities, and favouring of a Tyranny. So that it was not said amiss by *Archestratus*, That *Greece* could not bear two *Alcibia-*

(1) The Isle of *Melos*, one of the *Cyclades*, and a Colony of *Lacedaemon*, refus'd to submit to the *Athenians*, who therefore sent *Alcibiades* against it with six and thirty Ships, and three thousand Men, the last Year of the 90th Olympiad. *Alcibiades* only block'd up the Town with these Forces, but *Philocrates* the Son of *Eudemus* arriving the Year following in the Beginning of the Winter with new Supplies from *Athens*, the *Melians* surrender'd at Discretion. The *Athenians* put to the Sword all Those that were of Age to bear Arms, and carried the Women and Children Prisoners to *Athens*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

(2) *Thucydides*, who has given us an Account of this Slaughter of the *Melians*, makes no Mention of the Decree. Perhaps he was for having it suppress'd, and buried in Silence, as a Thing dishonourable to his Country, and wcu'd have Posterity con-

sider that barbarous Action as the Effect of a sudden Transport in Forces, who had been provok'd to it by the long and obstinate Resistance of the *Melians*.

(3) *Athenaus* calls this Painter *Aglaophon*, and not *Aristophon*, and relates the Story otherwise. He saith that *Alcibiades* returning from the Olympick Games, where he had been crown'd, brought with him to *Athens* two Pictures done by this Painter *Aglaophon*. In One of them he is crown'd by the Hands of an Olympiade, and *Pythiade*, that is by the Goddesses who presided at those Games respectively; in the Other he is represented lying in the Bosom of the Courtezan *Nemea*, as it were to refresh himself after his Labours. This last Piece puts me in mind of That in *Lucretius*, where the Poet describes *Mars* lying in the Bosom of *Venus*, which in my Opinion is a Piece of Poetry equal to any of the most beautiful in *Homer*.

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des. Once when *Alcibiades* succeeded well in an Oration which he made, and the whole Assembly attended upon him to do him Honour, *Timon*, surnam'd the *Man-bater*, would not pass slightly by him, nor avoid him as he did Others, but purposely met him, and taking him by the Hand, said, Go on boldly, my Son, may'st thou encrease in Credit with the People; for thou wilt one day bring them Calamities enough. Some that were present laugh'd at the Saying, and Some reproach'd *Timon*; but there were Others upon whom it made a deep Impression; So various was the Judgment which was made of him, by reason of the Inequality of his Manners.

(1) The *Athenians*, in the Life-time of *Pericles*, had cast a longing Eye upon *Sicily*, but did not attempt any thing in relation to it, (2) till after his Death.

(1) *Pericles* by his Prudence kept in that headstrong Folly of the *Athenians*. He told them over and over, that if they sat still, and apply'd themselves to maritime Affairs without caballing and intreating for the Command of Armies, or pushing the Publick upon hazardous Enterprises, they would fix the Commonwealth in a flourishing Condition, and make her an Over-match for her Enemies. After his Death they laugh'd at his Maxims; every Man amongst them follow'd his own Interest, or his own Ambition, and the City by degrees found itself insensibly engaged in Expeditions, which in the Event did an Honour to *Pericles* his Foresight, and Sagacity. The most fatal of these Expeditions was That against *Sicily*, where they committed Blunders upon

Blunders, and split upon the very Rock that *Pericles* had warn'd them against. For whilst they thought of nothing but caballing, and inflam'd the City with their Feuds, and Contentions for the chief Employments, they suffer'd their Fleets and Armies in the mean time to moulder away.

(2) *Pericles* dyed the last Year of the 87th Olympiad, in the 3d Year of the *Peloponnesian* War. Two Years after This, the *Athenians* sent some Ships to *Rhegium*, to the Succour of the *Leontines*, who were attack'd by Those of *Syracuse*. The Year following they sent still a greater Number; and two Years after That, they fitted out another Fleet of a greater Force than the Former; but the *Sicilians* having put an End to their Divisions, and united themselves in their common Defence, by the Sage Advice of *Hermocrates*, their Fleet

Death. (1) For then, under pretence of aiding their Confederates, they sent Succours upon all Occasions to Those who were oppress'd by the *Syracusians*, and thereby made way for the sending over of a greater Force. But *Alcibiades* was the Person who inflam'd this Desire of theirs to the height, and prevail'd with them no longer to proceed secretly in their Design, and by little and little, but to set out a great Fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves Masters of the Island. To this purpose he possess'd the People with great Hopes, whilst he himself had much greater; and the Conquest of *Sicily*, which was the utmost Bound of their Ambition, was but the beginning of those things which He thought of. *Nicias* endeavour'd to divert the People from this Expedition, by representing to them, that the taking of *Syracuse* would be a work of great Difficulty. But *Alcibiades* dream'd of nothing less than the Conquest of *Carthage* and *Libya*, and by the Accession of These, fancied himself al-

Fleet was sent back, and the *Athenians* were so enraged at their Generals for not having conquer'd *Sicily*, that they drove two of them, *Pythadorus* and *Sophocles*, into exile, and laid a heavy Fine upon *Eurymedon*; so infatuated were they become by their Prosperity, which had made them flatter themselves, that they were irresistible; that they could as well effect Things of the greatest Difficulty as Those that were the most easy, and succeed as well with a few Ships as with a numerous Fleet.

(1) *Plutarch* seems to have enter'd thoroughly into the Scope of that fine Speech *Hermocrates* made to the *Sicilians*, which we find in the 4th Book of *Thucydides*, wherein he tells them, Our particular Affairs are not the Subject of

our present Deliberations, but we are to consider what Course is to be taken to preserve the whole Island from the *Athenians*, whose only Aim is to get Possession of it. If we are wise, what I shall say cannot be more effectual to make us lay aside our domestick Differences, than will the single Presence of these *Athenians*, who being the most powerful of all the *Greeks* are come hither with a Pretence indeed to assist us, but in reality with an hostile Intention to benefit themselves from our Follies, and to turn our Dissentions to their Advantage. I thought it necessary to dwell a little upon these Particulars, to give the Reader a more distinct View of the Designs of the *Athenians*, and what it was they drove at.

ready

ready Master of *Italy* and of *Peloponnesus*; so that he seemed to look upon *Sicily* as little more than a Magazine for the War. The young Men were soon rais'd with these Hopes, and hearkened gladly to those of riper Years, telling them strange things of this Expedition; so that you might see great Numbers sitting in Rings in the Places of Exercise, Some describing the Figure of the Island, and others the Situation of *Libya* and *Carthage*. But it is said, that *Socrates* the Philosopher, and *Meton* the Astrologer, never hoped for any Good to the Commonwealth from this War: The One (as 'tis probable) presaging what would ensue, by the Assistance of his (1) *Dæmon*, who conversed with him familiarly; and the Other, either upon a rational Consideration of the Project, or by making use of the Art of Divination, was become fearful of the Success; and therefore dissembling Madness, he caught up a burning Torch, and seem'd as if he would have set his own House on fire: Others report that he did not take upon him to act the Mad-man, but that secretly in the Night he set his House on fire, and the next Morning besought the People, That for his Comfort after such a Calamity, they would spare his Son from the Expedition. By which Artifice he deceiv'd his Fellow-Citizens, and obtain'd of them what he desired.

Together with *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, much against his Will, was appointed General; for he endeavour'd to avoid the Command, as disliking his Colleague. But the *Athenians* thought the War would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send

(1) *Plutarch* relates here the two only owing to his good Sense and Opinions that were entertain'd of Reason. *Plutarch* without doubt this Astronomer *Meton*. Some was in Opinion with the latter, for wou'd have it, that by the Rules of though he was easy of Faith, and his Art he foresaw the Blow the superstitious, yet he gave little *Athenians* were to receive in *Sicily*; Credit to the Impertinences of and Others, that his Foresight was Astrology.

Alcibiades free from all restraint, but temper'd his Heat with the Caution of *Nicias*. This they chose the rather to do, because *Lamachus* the third General, tho' he was in his declining Years, yet in several Battels had appear'd no less hot and rash than *Alcibiades* himself. When they began to deliberate of the Number of Forces, and of the manner of making the necessary Provisions, *Nicias* (1) made another attempt to oppose the Design, and to prevent the War; but (2) *Alcibiades* contradicted him, and carried his Point with the People. And one *Demostrates*, an Orator, proposing to them, That they ought to give the Generals absolute Power, both as to the Greatness of the Preparations, and the Management of the War, it was presently decreed so. But just when all things were fitted for the Voyage, many unlucky Omens appear'd. At that very time (3) the Feast of *Adonis* happened, in

(1) *Thucydides* in his 6th Book, relates at large the Speech *Nicias* made on that Occasion, which is well worth reading, for it is an excellent Piece, full of a profound Wisdom, which can never be sufficiently admired.

(2) The Reader may likewise find *Alcibiades* his Speech in the same Author, and he cannot but observe that as the One is full of Prudence and Caution, so does the Other abound with Rashness and Presumption, notwithstanding the Glosses he has endeavour'd to put upon it. But it was impossible but Vanity should prevail over Discretion in a Republick drunk with her Prosperities, and debauch'd by her Puissance.

(3) *Venus* was so afflicted at the Death of *Adonis*, that the Heathens in Testimony of their Devotion

for that Goddess, establish'd a certain Feast at the Beginning of the Summer, wherein they commemorated the Death of that Favourite. All the Cities put themselves in Mourning on that Occasion; Coffins were expos'd at every Door, the Statues of *Venus* and *Adonis* were born in Procession with certain Cisterns, in which they had with great care rais'd Corn, Herbs, and Lettuce, and these Cisterns were called *the Gardens of Adonis*. Lettuce had a Place in this Solemnity, because they pretended *Adonis* was slain under a Lettuce. It is no difficult Matter to find out the Mystery of this Fable, if we consider that Lettuce is of a Quality contrary to Love. These Festivals were not only solemniz'd at *Athens*, but throughout all *Greece*, in the Isles and in *Egypt*. Nay the People

in which the Women were used to expose in all Parts of the City, Images resembling dead Men carried out to their Burial, and to represent Funeral Solemnities by their Lamentations and mournful Songs. The maiming also of the (1) Images of *Mercury*, most of which in one Night had their Faces broken, did terrify many Persons who were wont to despise things of that nature. It was given out, that this was done by the *Corinthians*, for the sake of the *Syracusans*, (2) who were a Colony of theirs, in hopes that the *Athenians*, observing such Prodigies, might be induced to repent of the War. Yet this Report gain'd not any Credit with the People, nor the Opinion of Those who would not believe that there was any thing ominous in the matter, but that it was only an extravagant Action, committed by some wild young Men coming from a Debauch; but They were both enrag'd and terrified at the thing, looking upon it to proceed from a Conspiracy of Persons, who design'd some great Commotions in the State. And therefore as well the Council, as the Assembly of the People, which upon this Occasion was held frequently, in a few Days space examin'd diligently every thing that might administer ground for Suspicion. During this Examination, *Androcles*, one of the *Demagogues*, produc'd certain Slaves and Strangers before them, who accus'd *Alcibiades*, and some of his Friends,

ple of God were infected with the Contagion, and the Abomination was found even in *Jerusalem* itself, as we find it in *Ezekiel* Cap. 8. v. 14. and behold there sat Women weeping for Tammuz, that is, *Adonis*. When the Feast was over, they threw the Gardens into the Sea, or into some River.

(1) The *Athenians* had Statues

of *Mercury* at the Doors of their Houses made of square Stones of a cubical Form, to denote the Solidity of Reason and the Stability of Truth, which, turn them howsoever you please, are always fix'd and uniform.

(2) *Archias* the *Corinthian*, a Descendent of *Hercules*, conducted that Colony to *Syracuse*. *Thucyd. Strab.*

for defacing other Images, in the same manner, and for having prophanely acted the sacred Mysteries at a drunken Meeting; wherein one *Theodorus* represented the Herald, *Polition* the Torch-bearer, and *Alcibiades* the Chief Priest, and that the rest of his Companions were present, as Persons initiated in the holy Mysteries, and acting the Part of Priests. These were the matters contain'd in the Accusation, which *Theffalus*, the Son of *Cimon*, exhibited against *Alcibiades*, for his impious Mockery of the Goddesses, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The People were highly exasperated and enraged against *Alcibiades* upon this Accusation, which being aggravated by *Androcles*, the most malicious of all his Enemies, at first disorder'd him exceedingly. But when he perceiv'd that all the Sea-men design'd for *Sicily* were fond of him, and that at the same time the Forces of the *Argives* and the *Mantineans*, which consisted of a thousand Men at Arms, spar'd not to say openly, that they had undertaken this tedious maritime Expedition for the sake of *Alcibiades*, and that if he was ill us'd, they would all presently be gone, he recover'd his Courage, and became eager to make use of the present opportunity for justifying himself. At this his Enemies were again discouraged, as fearing lest the People should be more gentle towards him in their Sentence, by reason of the present Occasion which they had for his Service. Therefore, to obviate this Mischief, they contriv'd that some other Orators, who did not appear to be Enemies to *Alcibiades*, but really hated him no less than Those who avow'd themselves to be so, should stand up in the Assembly, and say, that it was a very absurd thing, that One who was created General of such an Army with absolute Power, after his Troops were compleated, and the Confederates were come, should lose the present Opportunity, whilst the People

ple were chusing his Judges by Lots, and appointing Times for the hearing of the Cause : And that therefore he ought to set sail presently, (and may good Fortune attend him;) but when the War should be at an end, he might then in Person make his Defence according to the Laws.

But *Alcibiades* soon perceiv'd the Malice of this Delay, and appearing in the Assembly, represented to them, that it was a very grievous thing to him, to be sent forth with the Command of so great an Army, when he lay under such Accusations and Calumnies, that he deserv'd to die, if he could not clear himself of the Crimes objected to him. But when he had purg'd himself, and appear'd to be innocent, he should then chearfully apply himself to the War, as standing no longer in fear of false Accusers. But he could not prevail with the People, who commanded him to sail immediately. So he departed together with the other Generals, having with them near a hundred and forty Gallies, five thousand one hundred Men at Arms, and about One thousand three hundred Archers, Slingers, and light-arm'd Men, and all the other Provisions were answerable, and every way compleat.

Arriving on the Coast of *Italy*, he landed at *Rhegium*, and there propos'd his Advice in what manner they should manage the War. Wherein he was oppos'd by *Nicias*; but *Lamachus* being of his Opinion, they sail'd from *Sicily* forthwith, and took *Catana*. That was all which was done while he was there; (1) for he was soon after recall'd by the *Athenians*, to abide his Tryal. At first, (as we before said) there were only some slight

(1) What an unconceivable Fit of Faction is This in the *Athenians*! They had but just before nam'd *Alcibiades* for One of their Generals in this Expedition against *Sicily*. He was the fittest they could have named for that Purpose; and yet he was hardly arriv'd upon the Spot before he was recall'd to answer to the Charge they had against him. But what can be expected from a giddy Headstrong Mob, whose Heads are intoxicated with the Fumes of Superstition?

Suspensions offer'd against *Alcibiades*, and Accusations by certain Slaves and Strangers. But afterwards in his absence his Enemies attack'd him more fiercely, and confounded together the breaking the Images, with the Prophanation of the holy Mysteries, as tho' Both had been committed in pursuance of the same Conspiracy for changing the Government. Thereupon the People imprison'd All that were accus'd, without Distinction, and without hearing them, and repented themselves exceedingly, that having such pregnant Evidence, they had not immediately brought *Alcibiades* to his Tryal, and given Judgment against him. And if any of his Friends or Acquaintance fell into the Peoples Hands, whilst they were in this Fury, they were sure to be us'd very severely. *Thucydides* hath omitted to name his Accusers; but Others mention *Diocles* and *Teucer*: Amongst whom is *Phrynichus* the Comic Poet, who introduces one speaking thus:

*Hear, Hermes, thy deceiv'd Athenians call!
 Preserve thy Image from a second Fall;
 Lest Diocles once again accuse,
 And sacred Justice by false Oaths abuse.*

To which he makes *Mercury* return this Answer.

*Safe from Affronts my Statues I will guard;
 False Teucer shall not meet with new Reward,
 Nor shall his impious Lies obtain Regard.* }

The Truth is, his Accusers alledged nothing that was certain or solid against him. One of them being ask'd, How he knew the Men who defaced the Images; when he said, He saw them by the Light of the Moon, was grossly mistaken; for it was just New Moon when the Fact was committed. This

This made all Men of understanding cry out upon the Thing as a Contrivance; but the People were as eager as ever to receive further Accusations; nor was their first Heat at all abated, but they instantly seiz'd and imprison'd every one that was accus'd. Amongst Those who were detain'd in Prison in order to their Tryals, there was *Andocides* the Orator, whom the Historian *Hellanicus* reports to be descended from *Ulysses*. He was always look'd upon to hate the Popular Government, and to affect an Oligarchy. The chiefest ground of causing him to be suspected for defacing the Images, was because the great *Mercury*, which was plac'd near his House, and was an antient Monument of the Tribe of the *Ægeides*, was almost the only Statue, of all the remarkable ones, which remain'd entire. For this Cause it is now called the *Mercury* of *Andocides*; all Men giving it that Name, tho' the Inscription is an Evidence that it belongs to another Tribe. It happen'd that *Andocides*, above all Others who were Prisoners upon the same account, did contract a particular Acquaintance and Friendship with one *Timæus*, a Person not equal to *Andocides* in Quality, but very extraordinary both for Parts and Boldness. He persuaded *Andocides* to accuse himself and some few others of this Crime, urging to him, that upon his Confession, he would be secure of his Pardon, by the Decree of the People, whereas the Event of Judgment is uncertain to all Men; but to great Persons, as He was, most terrible. So that it was better for him, if he regarded himself, to save his Life by a Falsity, than to suffer an infamous Death, as one really guilty of the same Crime. And if he had a regard to the Publick Good, it was commendable to sacrifice a few suspected Men, by that means to rescue many excellent Persons from the Fury of the People. The Argument us'd by *Timæus* so far prevail'd upon

Andocides, as to make him accuse Himself and some Others; and thereupon, according to the Decree of the People, he obtained his Pardon; and all the Persons which were nam'd by him, (except some few who sav'd themselves by Flight) suffer'd Death. To gain the greater Credit to his Information, he accus'd his own Servants amongst Others. But notwithstanding This, the Peoples Anger was not appeas'd; and being now no longer diverted by Those who had violated the Images, they were at Leisure to pour out their whole Rage upon *Alcibiades*. And in Conclusion, they sent the Galley call'd the *Salaminia*, to recall him. But they gave it expressly in Command to Those that were sent, that they should use no Violence, nor seize upon his Person, but address themselves to him in the mildest Terms, requiring him to follow them to *Athens*, in order to abide his Tryal, and purge himself before the People: For indeed they fear'd a Mutiny and a Sedition in the Army in an Enemy's Country, which they knew it would be easy for *Alcibiades* to effect, if he had a mind to it. For the Soldiers were dispirited upon his Departure, expecting for the future tedious Delays, and that the War would be drawn out into a lazy length by *Nicias*, when *Alcibiades*, who was the Spur to Action, was taken away. For, though *Lamachus* was a Soldier and a Man of Courage, (1) yet being poor, he wanted Authority and Re-

(1) This is a just Observation upon an Army, wherein were so many vain-glorious Adventurers, among Whom the Dispute was not who was the better Soldier, but who had the most sumptuous Equipage. And yet how many *Roman* Commanders do we read of, whose Character was brightned by their Poverty? of Whom *Horace* has admirably said,

*Hunc, & incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem Bello tulit, & Camillum
Sava Paupertas.*

We are not therefore to take what *Plutarch* saith here as a fundamental Principle, when there are so many Instances to the contrary. Poverty has always been an Ornament to Persons of a distinguish'd Merit.

spect

spect in the Army. *Alcibiades*, just upon his Departure, prevented *Messina* from falling into the Hands of the *Athenians*. There were Some in that City, who were upon the point of delivering it up; but he knowing the Persons, discover'd them to some Friends of the *Syracusans*, and thereby defeated the whole Contrivance. When he arriv'd at *Thuria*, he went on Shore, and concealing himself there, escap'd Those who search'd after him. But to One who knew him, and ask'd him, *If he durst not trust his native Country?* he made answer, *Yes, I dare trust her for all other Things; but when the Matter concerns my Life, I will not trust my Mother, lest she should mistake, and unwarily throw in a black Bean instead of a white one.* When afterwards he was told, that the Assembly had pronounc'd Judgment of Death against him, all he said was, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive.*

The Information against him was conceiv'd in this Form.

“ *Theffalus*, the Son of *Cimon*, of the Town of *Lacides*, doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the Son of *Clinias*, of the Town of *Scambonides*, to have offended the Goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, by representing in derision the holy Mysteries, and shewing them to his Companions in his own House: Where (1) being habited in such Robes as are us'd by the Chief Priest, when he shews the holy things, he named himself the Chief Priest, *Polition* the Torch-bearer, and *Theodorus*, of the Town of *Phygea*, the Herald, and saluted the rest of his Company as Priests and Novices. All which was done with design to expose the Rites and Institu-

(1) All the Mystery in those Ceremonies, and in that Initiation, lay in exposing to View certain Things, which were usually conceal'd, and which the *Latins* call'd *Cereris Mundum*.

“ tions of the (1) *Eumolpides*, and the Priests and o-
 “ ther Officers of the holy Mysteries of the Temple
 “ at *Eleusis*.” He was condemn’d as contumacious
 upon his not appearing, his Estate confiscated, and it
 was decreed, That all the Priests and Priestesses should
 solemnly curse him. But One of them, *Theano*, the
 Daughter of *Menon*, of the Town of *Agraulos*, is
 said to have oppos’d that part of the Decree, say-
 ing *That her holy Office oblig’d her to make Prayers,*
but not Execrations.

Alcibiades lying under these heavy Decrees and
 Sentences, when first he fled from *Thuria*, pass’d
 over into *Peloponnesus*, and remain’d some time at
Argos. But being there in fear of his Enemies,
 and seeing himself utterly rejected by his Native
 Country, he sent to *Sparta*, desiring Letters of safe
 Conduct, and assuring them, that he would make
 them amends by his future Services for all the Mis-
 chief he had done them, while he was their Enc-
 my. The *Spartans* giving him the Security he
 desir’d, he went thither chearfully, and was well
 receiv’d. At his first coming he brought it to
 pass, that laying aside all further Caution or Delay,
 they should aid the *Syracusans*, and he quicken’d
 and excited them so, (2) that they forthwith dis-
 patch’d *Gylippus* into *Sicily* at the Head of an Ar-

(1) *Eumolpus* was the First that
 digested and settled those Myste-
 ries of *Ceres*, for which Reason
 the Superintendency of them was
 always reserv’d to Him and his
 Descendants; and in Failure of
 those Descendants, They who suc-
 ceeded in the Function, were
 notwithstanding call’d *Eumolpides*.

(2) The Reader may find in
Thucydides, the Speech *Alcibiades*
 made in full Council to the *Lace-*
demonians, to induce them to as-

fortify *Decelea*. That Fortress
 made the *Lacedemonians* Masters
 of the Country, insomuch that the
Athenians were depriv’d of the
 Profits that accru’d to them from
 their Silver Mines at *Laurium*, nor
 could they gather their Rents, or le-
 vy Fines upon their Demaines; or
 receive the Aid and Assistance of
 their Neighbours. Besides *Dece-*
lea became a Receptacle for all the
 Male-contents, and Abettors of the
Spartans. It was fortified in the
 last Year of the 91st Olympiad.

my,

my, utterly to destroy the Forces which the *Athenians* had in *Sicily*. Another thing which he persuaded them to do, was to make War also upon the *Athenians* on the side of *Peloponnesus*. But the third thing, and the most important of all the rest, was to make them fortify *Decelea*, which above all other Things did streighten and consume the Common-wealth of *Athens*.

As *Alcibiades* gain'd Esteem by the Services which he render'd to the Publick, so he was no less respected for his manner of living in private, whereby he wholly captivated the People, and made them doat on him. For, he conform'd himself entirely to the *Laconic* way, so that Those who saw him shav'd close to the Skin, and bathe himself in cold Water, and feed upon a course Cake, and use their black Broth, would have doubted, or rather could not have believ'd, that he ever had a Cook in his House, or had ever seen a Perfumer, or had worn a Robe of *Milesian* Purple. For he had (as it was observed) this peculiar Talent and Artifice, whereby he gain'd upon all Men, that he could presently conform himself to, and take up their Fashions and Way of Living, more easily than a Chamælion can change himself into new Colours. For a Chamælion, they say, cannot imitate one Colour, that is, white; but *Alcibiades*, whether he convers'd with debauch'd or virtuous Persons, was still capable of imitating and complying with them. At *Sparta*, he was diligent at his Exercises, frugal, and reserv'd. In *Ionia* he was luxurious, frolick, and lazy. In *Thracia* he was always drinking, or on Horseback. And when he transacted with *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia*'s Lieutenant, he exceeded the *Persians* themselves in Magnificence and Pomp. Not that his natural Disposition changed so easily, nor that his Manners were so very variable; but being sensible that if he pursu'd his own Inclinations

tions he might give Offence to Those with whom he had occasion to converse ; he therefore transform'd himself into such Shapes, and took up such Fashions, as he observ'd to be most agreeable to Them. So that to have seen him at *Lacedæmon*, if a Man judg'd by the outward Appearance, he would say of him,

*'Tis not Achilles' Son, but it is He,
The very Man the wise Lycurgus taught.*

But if one look'd more nearly into his Manners, he would cry out, according to the Proverb,

'Tis the old Woman still, still lewd as ever.

For while King *Agis* was absent, and abroad with the Army, he corrupted his Wife *Timæa*, and got her with Child. Nor did she deny it, but when she was brought to Bed of a Son, call'd him in publick *Leotychides*, but when she was amongst her Confidants and her Attendants, she would whisper that his Name ought to be *Alcibiades*. To such a degree was she transported by her Passion for him. But He, on the other side, would say in sport, he had not done this thing out of Revenge or Lust, but that his Race might one Day come to reign over the *Lacedæmonians*.

There were Many who acquainted *Agis* with these Passages ; but the Time itself gave the greatest Confirmation to the Story. For *Agis* being frightned with an Earthquake, fled out of Bed from his Wife, and for ten Months after never lay with her ; and therefore *Leotychides* being born after those ten Months, he would not acknowledge him for his Son, which was the Reason that at last he never came to the Kingdom.

After the Defeat which the *Athenians* receiv'd in *Sicily*, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to *Sparta*, at once from *Chios*, and *Lesbos*, and *Cyzicum*, to signify their purpose of deserting the Interests of the
Athenians.

Athenians. The *Bæotians* interpos'd in favour of the *Lesbians*, and *Pharnabazus* of the *Cyzianians*; but the *Lacedæmonians*, at the persuasion of *Alcibiades*, chose to assist those of *Chios* before all Others. He himself also went instantly to Sea, and procur'd almost all *Ionia* to revolt at once; and joining himself to the *Lacedæmonian* Generals, did great Mischief to the *Athenians*. But *Agis* was his Enemy, hating him for having dishonour'd his Wife, which he resented highly, and also not able to bear patiently the Glory he acquir'd; for most of the great Actions, which succeeded well, were universally ascrib'd to *Alcibiades*. Others also of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the *Spartans*, were ready to burst with Envy against *Alcibiades*, and labour'd it so, that at last they prevail'd with the Magistrates in the City to send Orders into *Ionia* that he should be kill'd. But *Alcibiades* had secret Intelligence of it, and was afraid; so that tho' he communicated all Affairs to the *Lacedæmonians*, yet he took care not to fall into their Hands. At last he retir'd to *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia's* Lieutenant, for his Security, and immediately became the first and most considerable Person about him. For this *Barbarian* not being himself sincere, but artificial and full of deceit, admir'd his Address and wonderful Subtilty. And indeed his Carriage was so agreeable in their daily Conversations and Pleasures, that it could not but soften the worst Humour, and take with the roughest Disposition. Even Those who fear'd and envy'd him, could not but take delight and have a sort of Kindness for him, when they saw him, and were in his Company. So that *Tisaphernes*, who was otherwise fierce, and above all other *Persians* hated the *Greeks*, yet was so won by the Flatteries of *Alcibiades*, that he set himself even to exceed him in Civility; to that degree, that being the Owner of some Gardens

dens which were extreamly delightful, by reason that they were near Fountains and sweet Meadows, wherein there were Apartments and Houses of Pleasure, royally and exquisitely furnish'd, he caus'd them to be call'd *Alcibiades*, and afterwards every one gave them that Name. Thus *Alcibiades*, quitting the Interest of the *Spartans*, as Those whom he could no longer trust, because he stood in fear of *Agis*, endeavoured to do them all ill Offices, and render them odious to *Tisaphernes*, who by his means was hindred from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the *Athenians*. For, his Advice was to furnish them but sparingly with Money, whereby he would wear them out, and consume them insensibly; and when they had wasted their Strength upon one another, they would Both become an easy Prey to his King. *Tisaphernes* did readily pursue his Counsel, and did so openly express the Value and Esteem which he had for him, that *Alcibiades* was consider'd highly by the *Grecians* of all Parties. The *Athenians* now, in the midst of their Misfortunes, repented them of their severe Sentence against him. And He, on the other side, began to be troubled for them, and to fear, lest if that Common-wealth were utterly destroy'd, he should fall into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, his mortal Enemies. At that time, the whole Strength of the *Athenians* was at *Samos*: And their Fleet which rode there was employ'd in reducing Such as had revolted, and in protecting the rest of their Territories; for as yet they were in a manner equal to their Enemies at Sea. But they stood in fear of *Tisaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty Galleys, which was said to be already under sail; and if Those came, there remained then no Hopes for the Common-wealth of *Athens*. When *Alcibiades* understood This, he sent secretly to the Chief of the *Athenians*, who
were

were then at *Samos*, giving them Hopes that he would make *Tisaphernes* their Friend; not with any Design to gratify the People, whom he would never trust; but out of his Respect to the Nobility, if, like Men of Courage, they durst attempt to repress the Insolence of the People, and by taking upon them the Government, would endeavour to save the City from Ruin. All of them gave a ready Ear to the Proposal made by *Alcibiades*, except only *Phrynicus*, one of the Generals, who was a Native of the Town of *Dirades*. He oppos'd him, suspecting, as the Truth was, that *Alcibiades* concern'd not himself, whether the Government were in the People or the Nobility, but only sought by any Means to make way for his Return into his native Country; and to that end inveigh'd against the People, thereby to gain the Nobility, and to insinuate himself into their good Opinion. But when *Phrynicus* found his Counsel to be rejected, and that he was now become a declar'd Enemy of *Alcibiades*, he gave secret Intelligence of This to *Astyochus*, the Enemy's Admiral, cautioning him to beware of *Alcibiades*, and to look upon him as a Double-Dealer, and one that offer'd himself to both Sides; not understanding all this while, that One Traytor was making Discoveries to Another. For *Astyochus*, who was zealous to gain the Favour of *Tisaphernes*, observing the great Credit which *Alcibiades* had with him, reveal'd to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynicus* had said against him. *Alcibiades* presently dispatch'd away Some to *Samos*, to accuse *Phrynicus* of the Treachery. Upon This, all the Commanders were enraged at *Phrynicus*, and set themselves against him; and He seeing no other way to extricate himself from the present Danger, attempted to remedy one Evil by a greater. For he sent away to *Astyochus*, to reproach him for betraying him, and to make an Offer to him at the same time

time to deliver into his Hands both the Army and the Navy of the *Athenians*. But neither did this Treason of *Phrynicus* bring any Damage to the *Athenians*, by reason that *Astyochus* repeated his Treachery, and reveal'd also this Proposal of *Phrynicus* to *Alcibiades*. This was foreseen by *Phrynicus*, who fearing a second Accusation from *Alcibiades*, to prevent him, advertis'd the *Athenians* before-hand, that the Enemy was ready to sail, in order to surprize them, and therefore advis'd them to fortifie their Camp, and to be in a readiness to go aboard their Ships. While the *Athenians* were intent upon doing these Things, they receiv'd other Letters from *Alcibiades*, admonishing them to beware of *Phrynicus*, as one who design'd to betray their Fleet to the Enemy; to which they then give no Credit at all, conceiving that *Alcibiades*, who knew perfectly the Counsels and Preparations of the Enemy, made use of that Knowledge, in order to impose upon them in this false Accusation of *Phrynicus*. Yet afterwards, when *Phrynicus* was stabb'd with a Dagger in the Market-place by *Hermion*, who was then upon the Watch, the *Athenians* entering into an Examination of the Cause, solemnly condemn'd *Phrynicus* of Treason, and decreed Crowns to *Hermion* and his Associates. And now the Friends of *Alcibiades* carrying all before them at *Samos*, they dispatch'd *Pisander* to *Athens*, to endeavour a Change in the State, and to encourage the Nobility to take upon themselves the Government, and destroy the Republick; representing to them, that upon these Terms, *Alcibiades* would procure that *Tisaphernes* should become their Friend and Confederate.

This was the Colour and the Pretence made use of by Those, who desired to reduce the Government of *Athens* to an Oligarchy. But as soon as they prevail'd, and had got the Administration of Affairs

Affairs into their Hands, they took upon themselves the Name of the Five thousand: whereas indeed they were but four hundred, and began to flight *Alcibiades* extreamly, and to prosecute the War with less Vigour than formerly: Partly because they durst not yet trust the Citizens, who secretly detested this Change; and partly because they thought the *Lacedæmonians*, who did ever affect the Government of the Few, would now press them less vehemently.

The People in the City were terrify'd into a Submission, Many of Those who had dar'd openly to oppose the Four hundred having been put to Death. But they who were at *Samos*, were enrag'd as soon as they heard this News, and resolv'd to set Sail instantly for the *Piræum*. And sending for *Alcibiades*, they declar'd Him General, requiring him to lead them on to destroy these Tyrants. But in that juncture he did not act like one rais'd on a sudden by the Favour of the Multitude, nor would yield and comply in every thing, as being oblig'd entirely to gratifie and submit to Those, who from a Fugitive and an Exile, had created him General of so great an Army, and given him the Command of such a Fleet: but, as became a great Captain, he oppos'd himself to the precipitate Resolutions which their Rage led them to, and by restraining them from so great an Error as they were about to commit, he manifestly sav'd the Common-wealth. For if they had return'd to *Athens*, all *Ionia* and the Isles of the *Hellespont* would have fallen into the Enemies Hands without Opposition, while the *Athenians*, engag'd in Civil Wars, destroyed one another within the Circuit of their own Walls. (1) It was *Alcibiades* principally who prevented all this

(1) He told them that since they had made Choice of Him for their General, it was his Right to have the Direction of every thing relating to the War, and at the same time went under a Pretence of consulting with *Tisaphernes*, who was then at *Miletus*, tho' in Reality it was

this Mischief; for he did not only use Persuasions to the whole Army, and inform them of the Danger, but apply'd himself to them One by One, entreating Some, and forcibly restraining Others. And herein he was much assisted by *Thrasybulus* of *Stira*, (1) who having the loudest Voice of all the *Athenians*, went along with him, and cry'd out to Those who were ready to be gone. Another great Service which *Alcibiades* did for them, was, his undertaking that the *Phœnician* Fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* expected to be sent to them by the King of *Persia*, should either come in Aid of the *Athenians*, or otherwise should not come at all. He went on Board with all Expedition in order to perform This, and so manag'd the thing with *Tisaphernes*, that tho' those Ships were already come as far as *Aspendos*, yet they advanc'd no farther; so that the *Lacedæmonians* were disappointed of them. It was by both sides agreed, that this Fleet was diverted by the Procurement of *Alcibiades*. But the *Lacedæmonians* openly accus'd him, that he had advis'd this *Barbarian* to stand still, and suffer the *Græcians* to waste and destroy one another. For it was evident that the Accession of so great a Force to either

was to let that Lord see how great a Man he was become, and make him sensible that he had it in his Power to be serviceable, or prejudicial to him, as he thought fit. By this means, as *Thucydides* has well observ'd, he kept *Tisaphernes* in awe by his Authority with the *Athenians*, as he had done the *Athenians* before by his Interest with *Tisaphernes*. Upon his Return from *Miletus* to *Samos*, he found the *Athenians* fully bent upon returning to *Athens*, which he prevented, as *Plutarch* tells us in this Place. This alone is a lively Sketch of *Alcibiades* his good

Sense and Dexterity.

(1) When *Homer* commends a General for his loud Voice, which makes him to be heard by the whole Army, They who have no Taste of Antiquity, look on it as a trifling Commendation. Here the Reader meets with an incontestable Instance of the Use of a loud Voice. A Trumpet may be heard throughout a whole Camp, but what does it convey to the Hearers? a Sound only. Whereas the Voice can communicate Reason to the Hearers, and it is Reason that must work upon the Understanding.

Party,

Party, would have enabled them to have ravish'd entirely the Dominion of the Sea from the other side. Soon after this the four hundred Usurpers were driven out, the Friends of *Alcibiades* vigorously assisting Those who were for the Popular Government. And now the People in the City not only desired, but commanded *Alcibiades* to return home from his Exile. However he disdain'd to owe his Return to the meer Grace and Commiseration of the People, and therefore resolv'd to come back with Glory, and upon the Merit of some Eminent Service. To this end he sail'd from *Samos* with a few Ships, and cruis'd on the Sea of *Cnidos*, and about the Isle of *Coos*, and got Intelligence there, that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* Admiral, was sail'd with his whole Army into the *Hellespont*, in pursuit of the *Athenians*. Thereupon he made haste to succour the *Athenian* Commanders, (1) and by good fortune arriv'd with eighteen Gallies at a critical time. For both the Fleets having engaged near *Abydos*, the Fight between them had lasted from morning 'till night, the One side having the Advantage on the right Wing, and the Other on the Left. Upon his first Appearance, both sides conceiv'd a false Opinion of the end of his coming, for the Enemy was encouraged and the *Athenians* terrified. But *Alcibiades* suddenly advanced the *Athenian* Flag in the Admiral Ship, and with great Fury fell upon the *Peloponnesians*, who had then the Advantage, and were in the pursuit. He soon put them to flight, and follow'd them so close, that he forced them on

(1) *Thucydides*, who at the End of his Eighth Book has left us a Description of this naval Fight at *Abydos*, takes not the least Notice of *Alcibiades* his Arrival. The Reason of which, in my Opinion, is, because *Thucydides* died that very Summer, before an Account of all

the Circumstances relating to that Action could be brought to *Athens*. But *Xenophon*, who begins his History where *Thucydides* leaves off, has not omitted it. He saith that the *Athenians* ow'd the Victory to the Arrival of *Alcibiades*.

shore, broke their Ships in pieces, and slew the Men who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming; altho' *Pharnabazus* was come down to their Assistance by Land, and did what he could to cover the Ships as they lay under the shore. In fine, the *Athenians* having taken thirty of the Enemies Ships, and recover'd all their Own, erected a Trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a Victory, his Vanity made him affect to shew himself to *Tisaphernes*, and having furnish'd himself with Gifts and Presents, and an Equipage suitable to so great a General, he set forwards towards him. But the thing did not succeed as he had imagin'd; for *Tisaphernes* had been long suspected by the *Lacedæmonians*, and was afraid to fall into Disgrace with his King upon that account, and therefore thought that *Alcibiades* arriv'd very opportunely, and immediately caus'd him to be seiz'd, and sent away Prisoner to *Sardis*; fancying by this Act of Injustice, to purge himself from former Imputations. But about thirty days after *Alcibiades* escap'd from his Keepers, and having got a Horse, fled to *Clazomene*, where he accus'd *Tisaphernes*, as consenting to his Escape. From thence he sail'd to the *Athenian* Camp, and being inform'd there that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together at *Cyzicum*, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, shewing them that it was necessary to attack the Enemies both by Sea and Land, nay even to force them in their Fortifications; for unless they gain'd a compleat Victory, they would soon be in want of necessary Provisions for their Subsistence. As soon as ever he got them on Ship-board, he hastened to (1) *Proconesus*, and there gave Command to place all the smaller Vessels in the midst of the Navy, and to take all possible Care that the Enemy might have no Notice of his coming; and a great

(1) An Island in the *Propontis* over-against *Cyzicum*.

Storm of Rain, accompanied with Thunder and Darkneſs, which happened at the ſame time, contributed much to the concealing of his Deſign. So that it was not only undiscovered by the Enemy, but the *Athenians* themſelves were ignorant of it; for he ſuddenly commanded them on board, and ſet ſail before they were aware. As ſoon as the Darkneſs was over, he perceiv'd himſelf to be in Sight of the *Peloponneſian* Fleet, which rode at Anchor before the Port of *Cyzicum*. *Alcibiades*, fearing leſt, if they diſcover'd the Number of his Ships, they might endeavour to ſave themſelves by Land, commanded the reſt of the Captains to ſlacken their Sails, and follow after him ſlowly; whiſt He advancing with forty Ships, ſhew'd himſelf to the Enemy, and provoked them to fight. The Enemy being deceived in their Number, deſpis'd them, and ſuppoſing they were to contend with Thoſe only, made themſelves ready, and began the Fight. But as ſoon as they were engag'd, they perceived the other Part of the Fleet coming down upon them, at which they were ſo terrified, that they fled immediately. Upon that, *Alcibiades*, with twenty of his beſt Ships, breaking through the miſt of them, haſtned to the Shore, and ſuddenly making a Deſcent, purſu'd Thoſe who abandon'd their Ships and fled to Land, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* coming to their Succour, were utterly defeated. *Mindarus* was ſlain upon the Place, fighting valiantly, but *Pharnabazus* ſav'd himſelf by flight. The *Athenians* ſlew great Numbers of their Enemies, won much Spoil, and took all their Ships. They alſo made themſelves Maſters of *Cyzicum*, it being deſerted by *Pharnabazus*, and put to death all the *Peloponneſians* that were there; and thereby not only ſecur'd to themſelves the *Helleſpont*, but by force drove the *Lacedæmonians* from out of all the

other Seas. They intercepted also some Letters written to the *Ephori*, which gave an Account of this fatal Overthrow, after their short *Laconic* manner: *Our Hopes are at an end: Mindarus is slain: The Soldiers starve; and we know not what Measures to take.* The Soldiers who follow'd *Alcibiades* in this last Fight, were so exalted with the Success, and come to that degree of Pride, that looking on themselves as invincible, they disdained to mix with the other Soldiers, who had been often overcome. For it happened not long before, *Thrasyllus* had received a great Defeat near *Ephesus*, and upon that Occasion the *Ephesians* erected (1) a brazen Trophy to the Disgrace of the *Athenians*. The Soldiers of *Alcibiades* reproach'd Those who were under the Command of *Thrasyllus*, with this Misfortune, at the same time magnifying Themselves and their own Commander; and it went so far at last, that they would not do their Exercises with them, nor lodge in the same Quarters. But soon after, *Pharnabazus*, with a great Strength of Horse and Foot, falling upon the Soldiers of *Thrasyllus*, as they were laying waste the Territory of the *Abidenians*, *Alcibiades* coming to their Aid, routed *Pharnabazus*, and, together with *Thrasyllus*, pursu'd him 'till it was Night. Then their Troops united, and returned together to the Camp, rejoicing and congratulating one another. The next Day he erected a Trophy, and then proceeded to lay waste with Fire and Sword the whole Province which was under *Pharnabazus*, where none durst appear to oppose them. In this Action he took divers Priests and Priestesses, but

(1) *Plutarch* saith this brazen Trophy was erected to the Disgrace of the *Athenians*, because 'till then Trophies were always of Wood, which decaying by degrees, those Monuments of Hostility perish'd with their Memories. The *Ephesians* therefore, to the immortal Infamy of the *Athenians*, made their Trophies of Brass; and it was This mortifying Novelty, with which *Alcibiades* his Soldiers reproach'd Those of *Thrasyllus*. *Diodor, lib. XIII.*

releas'd them without Ransom. He prepar'd to make War next upon the (1) *Chalcedonians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and had received a *Lacedæmonian* Governor and Garrison. But having Intelligence that they had remov'd their Corn and Cattle out of the Fields, and had sent All to the *Bitbrynians*, who were their Friends, he drew down his Army to the Frontier of the *Bitbrynians*, and then sent a Herald to accuse them of this Procedure. The *Bitbrynians* being terrify'd at his Approach, delivered up to him the whole Booty, and enter'd into an Alliance with him. Afterwards he proceeded to the Siege of *Chalcedon*, and enclos'd it with a Wall from Sea to Sea. *Pharnabazus* advanc'd with his Forces to raise the Siege, and *Hippocrates*, the Governor of the Town, at the same time gathering together all the Strength he had, made a Sally upon the *Athenians*. *Alcibiades* divided his Army so, as to engage them Both at once, and not only forc'd *Pharnabazus* to a dishonourable Flight, but slew *Hippocrates*, and a great number of the Soldiers which were with him. After This he sail'd into the *Hellespont*, in order to raise Supplies of Money, and took the City of *Selybria*; in which Action, through his precipitancy, he expos'd himself to great Danger. For Some within the Town had undertaken to betray it into his Hands, and by agreement were to give him a Signal by a lighted Torch about Midnight. But one of the Conspirators beginning to repent himself of the Design, the rest, for fear of being discovered, were driven to give the Signal before the appointed Hour. *Alcibiades*, as soon as he saw the Torch lifted up in the Air, tho' his Army was not in readiness to march, ran instantly towards the Walls, taking

(1) *Chalcedon* stood on the Right Side of the *Bosphorus*, at the Entrance out of the *Propontis* into the *Euxine*.

with him about thirty Men only, and commanding the rest of the Army to follow him with all possible Diligence. When he came thither, he found the Gate open'd for him, and enter'd with his thirty Men, and about twenty more of the Light-Arms who were by this time come up to them. They were no sooner fallen into the City, but he perceiv'd the *Selybrians* all arm'd coming down upon him ; so that there was no Hope of escaping if he staid to receive them ; and on the other side, having been always successful 'till that Day, where-ever he commanded, his Glory would not suffer him to fly. But on the sudden he thought of this Device : He requir'd Silence by sound of a Trumpet, and then commanded one of his Men to make Proclamation, that the *Selybrians* should not take Arms against the *Athenians*. This cooled such of the Inhabitants as were fiercest for the Fight, for they suppos'd that all their Enemies were got within the Walls, and it rais'd the Hopes of Others who were dispos'd to an Accommodation. Whilst they were parlying, and Propositions were making on one side and the other, *Alcibiades's* whole Army came up to the Town. But then conjecturing rightly that the *Selybrians* were well inclin'd to Peace, and fearing lest the City might be sack'd by the *Thracians*, (who came in great Numbers to his Army to serve as Volunteers, out of their particular Kindness and Respect for him) he commanded them All to retreat without the Walls. And upon the Submission of the *Selybrians*, he sav'd them from being pillag'd, and only taking of them a Sum of Money, and placing an *Athenian* Garrison in the Town, he departed.

During this Action, the *Athenian* Captains who besieg'd *Chalcedon*, concluded a Treaty with *Pharnabazus* upon these Articles ; That he should give them a Sum of Money : That the *Chalcedonians* should

should return to the Subjection of *Athens*, and that the *Athenians* should make no Inroad into the Province whereof *Pharnabazus* was Governor; and *Pharnabazus* was also to provide safe Conducts for the *Athenian* Ambassadors to the King of *Persia*. Afterwards when *Alcibiades* return'd thither, *Pharnabazus* requir'd that He also should be sworn to the Treaty; but he refus'd it, unless *Pharnabazus* would swear at the same time. When the Treaty was sworn to on both sides, *Alcibiades* went against the *Byzantines* who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and drew a Line of Circumvallation about the City. But *Anaxilaus* and *Lycurgus*, together with some Others, having undertaken to betray the City to him, upon his Engagement to preserve the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants, he caus'd a Report to be spread abroad, as if by reason of some unexpected Commotion in *Ionia*, he should be obliged to raise the Siege. And accordingly that Day he made a shew to depart with his whole Fleet; but returned the same Night, and went ashore with all his Men at Arms, and silently and undiscovered march'd up to the Walls. At the same time his Ships were row'd into the Haven with all possible violence, coming on with much Fury, and with great Shouts and Outcries. The *Byzantines* being thus surpriz'd, and quite astonished, while they were universally engag'd in defence of their Port and Shipping, gave opportunity to Those who favoured the *Athenians*, securely to receive *Alcibiades* into the City. Yet the Enterprize was not accomplished without fighting, for the *Peloponnesians*, *Bœotians*, and *Megareans*, not only repuls'd Those who came out of the Ships, and forc'd them to get on board again, but hearing that the *Athenians* were enter'd on the other side, they drew up in order, and went to meet them. But *Alcibiades* gain'd the Victory, after a

sharp Fight, wherein he Himself had the Command of the Right Wing, and *Theramenes* of the left, and took about three hundred of the Enemy Prisoners. After the Battel, not one of the *Byzantines* was slain, or driven out of the City, according to the Terms upon which the City was put into his Hands, that they should receive no prejudice in their Persons or Estates. Whereupon *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accused at *Lacedæmon* for this Treason, he neither disown'd nor was ashamed of the Action: For he urged “ that he was not a *Lacedæ-*
 “ *monian* but a *Byzantine*; and that he saw not *Spar-*
 “ *ta*, but *Byzantium*, in extream Danger; the City so
 “ streightly begirt, that it was not possible to bring
 “ in any new Provisions, and the *Peloponnesians* and
 “ *Bæotians*, which were in Garrison, devouring their
 “ old Stores, whilst the *Byzantines* with their Wives
 “ and Children were ready to starve. That he had
 “ not betray'd his Country to Enemies, but had de-
 “ livered it from the Calamities of War; wherein he
 “ had follow'd the Example of the most worthy *La-*
 “ *cedæmonians*, who esteem'd nothing to be honoura-
 “ ble and just, but what was profitable for their
 “ Country.” The *Lacedæmonians*, upon the hearing his Defence, were so well pleas'd, that they discharged All that were accus'd.

And now *Alcibiades* began to desire to see his native Country again, or rather to shew his Fellow-Citizens a Person who had gain'd so many Victories for them. To this end (1) he set Sail for

(1) He sailed first to *Samos* where being join'd by twenty Ships, he coasted *Caria*, and enter'd into the *Ceramick* Gulph; from whence, after having levied a round Sum of Money upon the Inhabitants, he returned to *Samos*: from *Samos* he proceeded with twenty Vessels to *Paros*, where he had embark'd all his Effects. From *Paros* he set sail for the *Læonic* Gulph, in order to enter into the Haven of *Gythium*, where he was told the *Spartans* had fitted out thirty Ships, and to wait there for News from *Athens*, and an Account of the Disposition the *Athenians* were in towards him. There he

for *Athens*, his Ships being adorn'd on every side with great numbers of Shields and other Spoils, and towing after them many Gallies taken from the Enemy, and the Ensigns and Ornaments of many Others which he had sunk and destroy'd; All of them together amounting to two hundred. But there is little Credit to be given to what *Daris* the *Samian* (who pretended himself to be descended from *Alcibiades*) does add, that *Chryfogonus*, who had won the Prize at the *Pythian* Games, play'd upon his Flute as the Gallies pass'd on, whilst the Oars kept time with the Musick; and that *Callipides* the Tragedian, attir'd in his Buskins, his purple Robes and other Ornaments which he used in the Theatre, excited Those who laboured at the Oars: and that the Admiral Galley enter'd into the Port with a purple Sail. For these things are such kind of Extravagancies as are wont to follow a Debauch; and neither *Theopompus*, nor *Euphorus*, nor *Xenophon* mention them. Nor indeed is it credible, that One who returned from so long an Exile, and such a Variety of Misfortunes, should carry himself with so much Insolence and Luxury. On the contrary, he enter'd the Harbour full of Fear, nor would afterwards venture to go on shore, 'till standing on the Deck, he saw *Euryptolemus* his Nephew, and Others of his Friends and Acquaintance, who were ready to receive him, and invited him to Land. As soon as he was landed, the Multitude, who came out to meet him, disdain'd to bestow a Look on any of the other Captains, but came in Throngs about *Alcibiades*, and saluted him with loud Acclamations, and still follow'd him. They who could press near him, crown'd him with Garlands, and They who could not come up so close,

he receiv'd Advice that they had declar'd Him their General in Conjunction with *Thrasybulus* and *Co-* non, and his Friends in their Letters press'd his Return, whereupon he set sail for *Athens*.

yet

yet stay'd to behold him afar off, and the old Men pointed him out, and shewed him to the young Ones. Nevertheless this publick Joy was mixed with some Tears, and the present Happiness was allay'd by the Remembrance of all the Miseries they had endur'd. They made Reflections " that they " could not have so unfortunately miscarried in Si- " cily, or been defeated in any of those things which " they had ever hoped for, if they had left the Ma- " nagement of their Affairs, and the Command of " their Forces, to *Alcibiades*. Since upon his under- " taking the Administration, when they were in a " manner ruin'd at Sea, and could scarce defend the " Suburbs of their City by Land, and at the same " time were miserably distracted with intestine Facti- " ons, He had rais'd them up from this low and deplo- " rable Condition, and had not only restor'd them to " their ancient Dominion of the Sea, but had also at " made them every where victorious over their " Enemies Land." There had been a Decree for recalling him from his Banishment already pass'd by the People, at the Instance of (1) *Critias* the Son of *Callaischrus*, as appears by his Elegies, in which he puts *Alcibiades* in Mind of this Service.

*From my Proposal the Decree did come,
Which from your tedious Exile brought you home.
That you're restor'd, you to my Friendship owe ;
I was the first durst press it should be so.*

(1) This *Critias* was Uncle to *Plato's* Mother, the same with Him that was One of the Thirty Tyrants. He is the Author of a Treatise concerning the Republick of *Sparta*, and of some Elegies. *Athenaus* has given us a pretty large Fragment of One of his Elegies, which is sufficient to make us sensible that he was very well quali-

fied for such sort of Compositions. In that Elegy he calls Temperance the Neighbour of Piety.

Καὶ τὴν Ἐυσέβειν γείτονα σω-
φροσύνην.

This is the *Critias* that *Plato* introduceth in his Dialogues.

The

The People being summoned to an Assembly, *Alcibiades* came in amongst them, and first bewail'd and lamented his own Sufferings, and gently and modestly complained of their Usage, imputing all to his hard Fortune, and some ill Genius that attended him. Then he discoursed at large of the great Assurance of their Enemies, but withal exhorted them to take Courage. The People crown'd him with Crowns of Gold, and created him General both at Land and Sea with absolute Power. They also made a Decree, that his Estate should be restor'd to him, and that the *Eumolpides* and the Holy Heralds should again absolve him from the Curses which they had solemnly pronounc'd against him, by Sentence of the People. Which when all the rest obey'd, *Theodorus* the High-priest excus'd himself, For, said he, (1) *I never denounced any Execration against him, if he have done nothing against the Commonwealth.*

But notwithstanding the Affairs of *Alcibiades* succeeded so prosperously, and so much to his Glory, yet Many were still much disturb'd, and look'd upon the time of his Arrival to be ominous. For on the same Day that he came into the Port, (2) the Feast of the Goddess *Minerva*, which they call the *Plynteria*, was kept. It is the 25th Day of *September*, when

(1) The Priest means that the Execration was conditional, and could not affect Those that were innocent, nor could it be recall'd, or averted from the Head of the Guilty. This Distinction was very presuming in so nice a Conjecture, whilst the Passions of the People were so strong in Favour of *Alcibiades*.

(2) This was a Festival among the *Athenians* annually celebrated in Honour of *Minerva*, whom they worshipped under the Name of *Agraula*, which has led *Heinsius* and Others into an Error when they say it was solemnized in the Honour

of *Agraula* the Daughter of *Cecrops*, as has been observed by *Meursius*. At this Festival they stripp'd the Statue of the Goddess, and wash'd it, from whence it was called *Plynteria*, (*πλύνης* in Greek, signifying a Fuller, or Scowerer;) That Day was consider'd as One of the most unlucky. Their Temples likewise were at that time encompassed about with a Cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary in all inauspicious days, and they carried dried Figs in Procession, because that was the first Fruit that was eaten after Acorns.

the

the (1) *Praxierydes* do solemnize those Mysteries which are not to be revealed, taking all the Ornaments from off her Image, and keeping the Image itself (2) close covered. Hence it is that the *Athenians* esteem'd this Day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: And therefore they imagined, that the Goddess did not receive *Alcibiades* graciously and propitiously, but hid her Face from him, and rejected him.

Notwithstanding which, every thing succeeding according to his Wish, when the hundred Gallies were fitted out, and ready to sail, an honourable Zeal detain'd him 'till the Celebration of the grand (3) Mysteries were fully past. For, since the time that *Decelea* was fortified, the Enemies had made themselves Masters of all the Roads which lead from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, and by reason thereof, the Procession being of necessity to go by Sea, could not be perform'd with Solemnity; but they were forced to omit the Sacrifices, and Dances, and other Holy Ceremonies, which were us'd to be perform'd in the Way called *Holy*, when the Statue of *Bacchus* is carried in Procession to *Eleusis*. *Alcibiades* therefore judg'd (4) it would be a glorious Action, whereby he should do Honour to the Gods, and gain Esteem with Men, if he restor'd the ancient Splendor to

(1) This Word signifies in the literal Sense *Opera facientes*, which is as much as to say *They that celebrate the Mysteries*, for *πραΐτειν* signifies *to do, to celebrate*, and *ἑρῶν* by way of Excellence signifies *the Mysteries*.

(2) They stripp'd *Minerva* of her Habits and Ornaments, in order to wash or clean them, but that she might not in the meantime be exposed naked, they covered the Statue all over.

(3) He means the Mysteries of

Ceres and *Proserpine*. That Festival continued for Nine Days, and on the sixth they carried in Procession to *Eleusis* the Statue of *Bacchus*, whom they supposed to be the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*.

(4) He rather did it, to efface, by such a singular Act of Devotion, the Suspicion he lay under of Impiety, for having maim'd the Statues, and profaned the Mysteries. The People are generally led by Appearances.

these

these Rites, in conducting the Procession again by Land, and protecting it with his Army from the Enemy. For thereby he was sure, if *Agis* stood still and did not oppose him, it would very much diminish and obscure his Glory; or otherwise that he should engage in a Holy War in the Cause of the Gods, and in defence of the most sacred and solemn Ceremonies; and this in the sight of his Country, where he should have all his Fellow-Citizens Witnesses of his Valour. As soon as he had resolv'd upon this design, and had communicated it to the *Eumolpides*, and other holy Officers, he placed Sentinels on the tops of the Mountains, and at the break of Day sent forth his Scouts. And then taking with him the Priests, and consecrated Persons, and Those who had the charge of initiating Others in the holy Mysteries, and encompassing them with his Soldiers, he conducted them with great Order and profound Silence. This was an August and Venerable Procession, wherein All, who did not envy him, said, *He performed at once the Office of an High-priest and of a General.* The Enemy durst not attempt any thing against them; and thus he brought them back in Safety to the City. Upon which as he was exalted in his own Thought, so the opinion which the People had of his Conduct, was rais'd to that degree, that they look'd upon their Armies as irresistible and invincible while He commanded them. He so won upon the lower and meaner sort of People, that they passionately desired he would take the Sovereignty upon him; Some of them made no difficulty to tell him so, and to advise him to put himself out of the reach of Envy, by abolishing the Laws and Ordinances of the People, and suppressing those ill-affected Persons who would overturn the State, that so he might act and take upon him the Management of Affairs, without standing in fear of being called to an account. How
far

far his own Inclinations led him to usurp Sovereign Power, is uncertain; but the most considerable Persons in the City were so much afraid of it, that they hastened him on Shipboard all they could, granting him Liberty to chuse his own Officers, and allowing him all other things as he desired. Thereupon he set sail with a Fleet of an hundred Ships, and arriving at *Andros*, he there fought with and defeated, as well the Inhabitants, as the *Lacedæmonians*, who assisted them. But yet he took not the City, which gave the first Occasion to his Enemies for all their Accusations against him. Certainly if ever Man was ruined by his own Glory, it was *Alcibiades*: For his continual Success had begot such an Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, that if he failed in any thing he undertook, it was imputed to his neglect; and no one would believe it was through want of Power: For they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. They fancied also every day that they should hear News of the reducing of *Chios*, and of the rest of *Ionia*, and grew impatient that things were not effected as fast and as suddenly as they imagined. They never considered how extreamly Money was wanting, and that being to make War with an Enemy, who had Supplies of all things from a great King, he was often forced to forsake his Camp in order to procure Money and Provisions for the Subsistence of his Soldiers. This it was which gave occasion for the last Accusation which was made against him. For *Lysander* being sent from *Lacedæmon* with a Commission to be Admiral of their Fleet, and being furnished by *Cyrus* with a great Sum of Money, gave every Mariner four Oboles a-day, whereas before they had but Three. *Alcibiades* could hardly allow his Men three Oboles, and therefore was constrained to go into *Caria* to furnish himself with Money. He left the Care of the

Fleet, in his absence, (1) to *Antiochus*, an experienced Seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express Orders from *Alcibiades* not to engage, tho' the Enemy provoked him. But he slighted and disregarded the Orders to that degree, that having made ready his own Galley and Another, he presently stood for *Ephesus*, where the Enemy lay, and as he sailed before the Heads of their Galleys, used the highest Provocations possible both in Words and Deeds. *Lysander* at first manned out a few Ships, and pursued him; but all the *Athenian* Ships coming in to his Assistance, *Lysander* also brought up his whole Fleet, which gained an entire Victory. He flew *Antiochus* himself, took many Men and Ships, and erected a Trophy.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard this News, he returned to *Samos*, and loosing from thence with his whole Fleet, he came and offered Battel to *Lysander*. But *Lysander*, content with the Victory he had gained, would not stir. Amongst others in the Army who had a Malice to *Alcibiades*, *Thrasylbulus*, the Son of *Thrason*, was his particular Enemy, and went purposely to *Athens* to accuse him, and to exasperate his Enemies in the City against him. In an Oration to the People he represented that *Alcibiades* had ruined their Affairs, and lost their Ships, by insolently abusing his Authority, committing the Government of the Army in his Absence, to such as by their Debauchery and scurrilous Discourses got most into Credit with him, whilst he wander'd up and down at pleasure to raise Money, giving himself up to all Luxury and Excesses amongst the *Abydenian* and *Ionian* Courtezans, at a time when the Enemy's Navy rode at Anchor so near His. It was also objected to him, that he had fortified a Castle

(1) This is the *Antiochus* who had got into his good Graces by catching for him the Quail he had let

loose. A small Piece of Service very handsomely rewarded.

near *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, for a safe Retreat for himself, as One that either could not, or would not live in his own Country. The *Athenians* gave Credit to these Informations, and discovered the Resentment and Displeasure which they had conceived against him, by chusing other Generals.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard of this, he immediately forsook the Army, being afraid of what might follow: And getting many Strangers together, he made War upon his own account against those *Thracians* who pretended to be free, and acknowledged no King. By this means he amass'd to himself a great Treasure out of the Spoils which he took, and at the same time secured the bordering *Grecians* from the Incurfions of the *Barbarians*.

(1) *Tydeus*, *Menander* and *Adimantus*, the new-made Generals, were at that time riding in the River *Ægos*, with all the Ships which the *Athenians* had left: From whence they used to go out to Sea every Morning, and offer Battel to *Lysander*, who lay at Anchor near *Lampsacus*; and when they had done so, returning back again, they lay all the rest of the Day carelessly and without Order, as Men who despised the Enemy. *Alcibiades*, who was not far off, did not think so slightly of their Danger, nor did neglect to let them know it, but mounting his Horse, he came to the Generals, and represented to them, that they had chosen a very inconvenient Station, as wanting a safe Harbour, and far distant from any Town; so that they were constrained to

(1) *Plutarch* skips over three Years compleat, and takes no notice of what was performed by the Ten Generals that succeeded to *Alcibiades*. He passes over the 25th Year of the *Peloponnesian* War; and the 26th, in which the *Athenians* obtained the Victory at *Arginussa*; and almost the whole 27th,

towards the End of which the *Athenians* failed to *Ægos Potamos*, where they received the Blow that is spoken of in this Place. I thought it necessary to fill up this Void, for the better Information of Such as shall be disposed to form an Historical Plan upon these Lives.

send

send for their necessary Provisions as far as *Sestos*. He also reprov'd them for their Carelessness, in suffering the Soldiers when they went ashore, to disperse themselves, and wander up and down at their Pleasure, when the Enemy's Fleet, which was under the Command of one General, and strictly obedient to Discipline, lay so very near them. *Alcibiades* admonished them of these things, and advised them to remove the Fleet to *Sestos*. But the Admirals did not only disregard what he said, but *Tydeus* with great Insolence commanded him to be gone, saying, *That now not He, but Others had the Command of the Forces*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* suspecting something of Treachery in them, departed. But he told his Friends who accompanied him out of the Camp, *that if the Generals had not used him with such insupportable Contempt, he would within a few Days have forced the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to have fought the Athenians at Sea, or to have deserted their Ships*. Some looked upon This as a piece of Ostentation only, but Others said, the thing was probable, for that he might have (1) embark'd great Numbers of the *Thracian* Cavalry and Archers, to assault and disorder them in their Camp. The Event did soon make it evident, how very rightly he judged of the Errors which the *Athenians* committed: For *Lyfander* fell upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such Fury, that *Conon*, with (2) eight Galleys only escaped him, all the rest (which were

(1) This is the Sense of *Plutarch*, whose Meaning has been misunderstood by his Interpreters, who did not rightly understand the Signification of the Word *ἐισαγάγων*. He could not attack the *Lacedæmonians* by Land from *Ægos Potamos*, for They lay at *Lampfacus*, which two Places were di-

vided by the *Hellspont*; but he could make a Descent upon them by Sea, in which Sense *Plutarch* is to be understood.

(2) There was a Ninth called *Paralus*, which escaped, and carried the News of their Defeat to *Athens*. *Conon* himself retired to *Cyprus*.

about two hundred) he took and carried away, together with three thousand Prisoners, which he afterwards puts to Death. And within a short time after, he took *Athens* it self, burnt all the Ships which he found there, and demolished their long Walls.

After this *Alcibiades* standing in dread of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were now Masters both at Sea and Land, retired into *Bitthynia*. He sent thither great Treasure before him, took Much with him, but left much more in the Castle where he had before resided. But he lost great part of his Wealth in *Bitthynia*, being robbed by some *Thracians* who lived in those Parts; and thereupon he determined to go to the Court of *Artaxerxes*, (1) not doubting but that the King, if he would make tryal of his Abilities, would find him not inferior to *Themistocles*, besides that he was recommended by a more honourable Cause. For He went not, as *Themistocles* did, to offer his Service against his Fellow-Citizens, but against their Enemies, and to implore the King's Aid for the Defence of his Country. He concluded that *Pharnabazus* would most readily procure him a safe Conduct, and therefore went into *Phrygia* to him, and continued to dwell there some time, paying him great Respect, and being honourably treated by him. The *Athenians* in the mean time were miserably afflicted at their loss of Empire, but when they were deprived of Liberty also, and *Lysander* had imposed thirty Governors upon the City, and their State was finally ruined, then they began to reflect on those things, which they would never consider whilst they were in a

(1) *Plutarch* still follows the Opinion of *Thucydides*, who saith, that *Themistocles* arrived at the Court of the great King immediately upon the Death of *Xerxes*, and the Advancement of his Son *Artaxerxes* to the Throne. It was to that Prince both *Themistocles* and *Alcibiades* fled in their Extremities,

prosperous Condition : then they did acknowledge and bewail their former Errors and Follies, and judged the second ill Usage of *Alcibiades* to be of all Others the most inexcusable : For he was rejected without any Fault committed by himself ; and only because they were incensed against his Lieutenant for having shamefully lost a few Ships, they much more shamefully deprived the Commonwealth of a most valiant and most accomplished General. Yet in this sad State of Affairs they had still some faint Hopes left them, nor would they utterly despair of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, while *Alcibiades* was safe. For they persuaded themselves before when he was an Exile, he could not content himself to live idle and at ease, much less now (if he could find any favourable Opportunity) would he endure the Insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Outrages of the thirty Tyrants. Nor was it an absurd thing in the People to entertain such Imaginations, when the thirty Tyrants themselves were so very solicitous to be informed, and to get Intelligence of all his Actions and Designs. In fine, *Critias* represented to *Lysander*, that the *Lacedæmonians* could never securely enjoy the Dominion of Greece, 'till the *Athenian* Democracy was absolutely destroyed. And tho' now the People of *Athens* seemed quietly and patiently to submit to so small a Number of Governors, yet *Alcibiades*, whilst he lived, would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present Circumstances.

Yet *Lysander* would not be prevailed upon by these Discourses, 'till at last he received secret Letters from the Magistrates of *Lacedæmon*, expressly requiring him to get *Alcibiades* dispatched : Whether it was that they feared the Vivacity of his Wit, or the Greatness of his Courage in enterprising what was hazardous, or whether it was done to gratify King *Agis*. Upon receipt of this Order, *Lysander*

sent away a Messenger to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the Affair to *Magæus* his Brother, and to his Uncle *Susamithres*. *Alcibiades* resided at that time in a small Village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra*, a Mistress of His. As he slept, he had this Dream: He thought himself attired in his Mistress's Habit, and that She, holding him in her Arms, dressed his Head, and painted his Face, as if he had been a Woman. Others say, he dreamed that *Magæus* cut off his Head, and burnt his Body; and it is said, that it was but a little while before his Death that he had these Visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not Courage enough to enter the House, but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. *Alcibiades* as soon as he perceived it, getting together great Quantities of Cloaths and Furniture, threw them upon the Fire, with a Design to choke it; and having wrapped his Robe about his left Arm, and holding his naked Sword in his Right, he cast himself into the middle of the Fire, and escaped securely thro' it, (1) before it had time to take thoroughly the Furniture, and other Materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him, but standing at a distance, they slew him with their Darts and Arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead Body, and covering and wrapping

(1) This Passage in *Plutarch* has been ill rendered both by the *Latin* and other Interpreters. The *Latin* Interpreter translates it thus; *Inviolatus ante evasit quam deflagrarent Vestes*, which is the Sense put upon Him by Most of Those who have translated him into the Modern Languages. Whereas This is far from *Plutarch's* Meaning.

Would a judicious Historian make a Circumstance of *Alcibiades's* Garments, which were not quite burnt when he pressed through the Fire? The Reason *Plutarch* gives how *Alcibiades* came to pass through it without any Hurt, was because he had deadned it just before by throwing the Materials mentioned in the Text into it.

it up (1) in her own Robes, the very best she had, she (2) buried it as decently and as honourably as her present Circumstances would allow. 'Tis said, that the famous *Lais*, (who was called the *Corinthian*, tho' she was a Native of *Hiccaris*, a small Town in *Sicily*, from whence she was brought a Captive) was the Daughter of this *Timandra*. There are Some who agree with this Relation of *Alcibiades's* Death in all things, except only that they impute not the Cause of it either to *Pharnabazus*, *Lysander*, or the *Lacedæmonians*; but they say, that he kept a young Lady of a noble House, whom he had debauched; and that her Brothers not being able to endure the Indignity, by Night set fire to the House where he dwelt, and as he endeavoured to save himself from the Flames, slew him with their Darts, in the manner before related.

(1) This is *Plutarch's* Meaning, however he has been misunderstood by Some, who do not say they were her own Robes, but they were the best and most magnificent She could get. This Circumstance would not have been material, if it had not been made so by what went before. It manifestly relates to *Alcibiades's* Dream, and the accomplishment of it. If she had wrap'd his Body up in any other Robes, tho' never so costly, unless they had been her Own, the Dream would have signified no-

thing: But they were her Own Robes, and That denotes that the Dream was accomplished. *Alcibiades* dream'd His Mistress had attired him in her Own Habit, and that he lay in her Bosom.

(2) She buried him in the Burgh called *Melissa*. *Athenaus* writes, that as he was travelling that way he saw *Alcibiades's* Monument, upon which *Adrian* the Emperor caused the Statue of the deceased carved in *Parian* Marble to be erected, and ordained that a Bull should be sacrificed to it annually.





T H E
L I F E
O F
Caius Marcius Coriolanus.

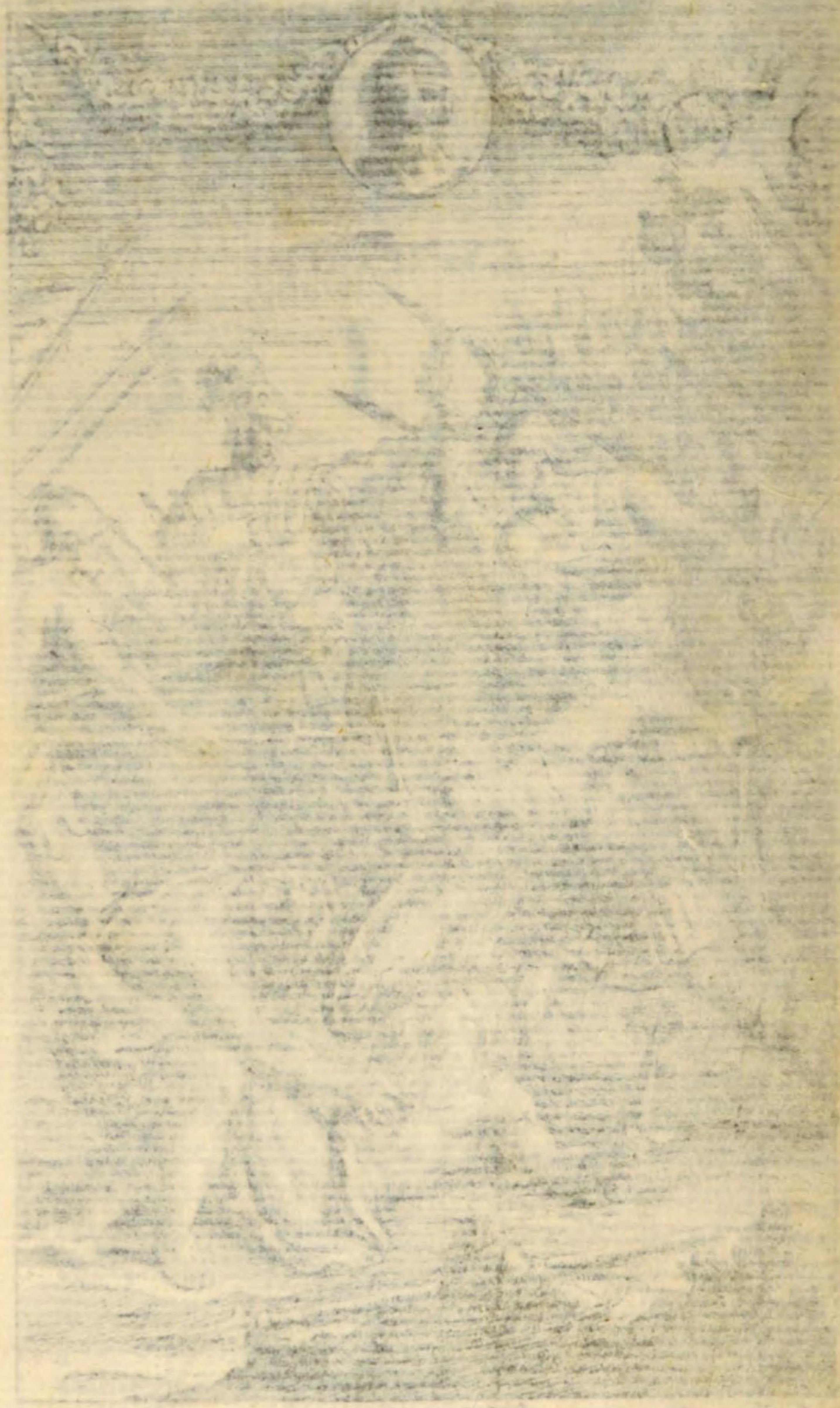
TH E House of the *Marcii* in *Rome* produced many eminent Patricians; and among the rest, *Ancus Marcius*, who was Grandson to *Numa* by his Daughter *Pomponia*, and reigned there after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same Family were also *Publius*, and *Quintus Marcius*; which two brought into the City the greatest part of the best Water in *Rome*. As also *Censorinus*; who after he had been twice chosen Censor by the People, persuaded them himself to make a perpetual Decree, that no body should bear that Office a second time. *Caius Marcius*, of whom I now write, being left an Orphan, and brought up under the Widowhood of his Mother, has shewn that the early Loss of a Father, tho' attended with other disadvantages, yet can prove no hindrance to a Man's being virtuous, or eminent in the World: otherwise might bad Men exclaim against That, and a loose Education, as the Cause



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Cause of their corrupt and debauched Lives. This same Person also was a remarkable evidence of the Truth of their Opinion, who think that a generous and good Nature without Discipline (like a fat Soil without Culture) must produce plenty of Bad and Good intermix'd. For his undaunted Courage and firm Constancy spurred him on, and carried him through many glorious Actions; but his ungoverned Passion and inflexible Obstinacy made him appear harsh and disagreeable among Friends, and wholly unfit for the Ease and Freedom of Conversation. So that Those who admired to see his Soul unshaken either by Pleasures, Toils, or the temptations of Money, allowing his Constancy the respective names of Temperance, Justice and Fortitude; yet in civil Intercourse and affairs of State, they could not but be disgusted at his rough imperious Temper, too haughty for a Republick. And indeed the advantages of a liberal Education are in nothing more apparent than This, that it softens and polishes a rugged Temper by rules of Prudence, and precepts of Morality, teaching Men to moderate their Desires, to chuse the sober Mean, and avoid Extreames.

In those times, that sort of Galantry, which exerted it self in military Arts and martial Attainments, was most encouraged and esteemed at *Rome*; which is evident from hence, that the *Latin* Word for Virtue came then to signify Valour, and the general Term was applied to that particular Excellence, which is properly called Fortitude. Now *Marcus* having a more than ordinary Inclination for military Exercises, began to handle Arms from his very Childhood; but thought that external Instruments, and artificial Arms would be of small Service to Them who had not their natural Weapons ready, and at command; so he exercised and prepared his Body for all manner of Engagements;

he acquired a nimble Swiftneſs to purſue, and ſuch a ſteady Firmneſs to grapple and wreſtle with the Enemy, that None could eaſily get clear of him; ſo that All who tried their Abilities with him and were worſted in the Engagement, excuſed their own Weakneſs by pleading his invincible Strength, hardned againſt all Oppoſition, and Proof againſt Pain.

(1) The firſt Expedition he made was in his Youth, when *Tarquin* (who had been King of *Rome*, but afterwards baniſhed) after many Skirmiſhes and Deſeats, made his laſt Puſh, and ventured all at a ſingle Throw. A great number of the *Latins*, and other People of *Italy*, had joined Forces with him, and were marching towards the City, tho' not ſo much out of deſire to ſerve and reſtore *Tarquin*, as Fear and Envy of the *Roman* Greatneſs, which they intended to pull down from its late advancement. The Armies engaged in (2) a deciſive Battel, which had (3) various Turns; *Marcus* fighting bravely in the Dictator's Preſence, ſaw a *Roman* Soldier fall nigh him; inſtead of deſerting him in that Extremity, he ſtept in immediately to his Reſcue, beat off, and ſlew the Aggreſſor. The General having got the Victory, crowned him firſt for that Action with a Garland of Oak; for This was the Reward given to a Soldier who had ſaved the Life of any *Roman* Citizen; (4) whether the Law intended ſome ſpecial Honour to the Oak, in Memory

(1) It was in the firſt Year of the 71ſt Olympiad, the 258th Year of *Rome*, and 493 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

(2) That Battel was fought near the Lake *Regillus*. *Liv. lib. 2. Dion. Halicarnaſ. Lib. vi.*

(3) The Deſcription *Dionyſius* gives of this Engagement is admirable, ἐγίνοντο δὲ, ſaith he, ποί-

κίλαι, καὶ ἀνέχισταροι περὶ αὐτῆς αἱ τῆς ἀγῶνος τύχαι. Fortune in this Action was very ſickle, and often ſhifted Hands.

(4) *Plutarch* is at the Pains to ſearch after the Reaſon why They who had ſav'd the Life of a Citizen were rewarded with an Oaken Crown, and has found out Four; the Third appears to me the moſt probable,

Memory of the *Arcadians*, whom the Oracle had celebrated by the name of *Acorn-eaters*; or because they could easily meet with Plenty of it, where-ever they fought; or as the Oaken Wreath was sacred to *Jupiter*, the great Guardian of their City, they might therefore think it the most proper Ornament for Him who preserved a Citizen. Besides, the Oak is a Tree that bears the most and fairest Fruit of any that grows wild, and is stronger than Any that are dressed and improved by Art; its Acorns also were the principal Diet of the first Ages; and the Honey which was commonly found there, afforded them a very pleasant Liquor; it supplied them too even with Fowl and other Creatures for Dainties, producing Mistletoe, for Birdlime, that artful Instrument to insnare them. But to return. (1) It is reported that *Castor* and *Pollux* appear'd in the Battel before mentioned, and immediately after it were seen at *Rome* in the *Forum*, just by the Fountain where their Temple now stands, upon Horses all foaming with Sweat, as if they had rid Post thither to bring News of the Victory; on which account the 15th of *July* (being the Day of this Conquest) was dedicated to the Twin-Gods.

probable, and is That which *Pliny* seems to like the best. It may be added, that as the Oak is of all Trees the longest Liver, so an Oaken Crown bestowed on the Occasion above mentioned is designed to denote that the Glory of having sav'd a Citizen is more durable than That which is derived from any other Action whatever. This Crown was the Foundation of many Privileges. He who had once obtained it had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the publick Spectacles the Senate rose in Honour to him. He was placed

near the Senators; and his Father, and Grandfather, by the Father's side, were intitled to the same Privileges and Immunities. A wise Institution calculated for the Benefit of the State.

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* vents this Fable in as serious a manner, and is as firmly persuaded of the Truth of it, as if he had been an Eye-witness to it. *Livy*, tho' otherwise no incredulous Writer, speaks not a Word of it; he only saith that during the Fight *Posthumus* the Dictator vow'd a Temple to *Castor* and *Pollux*.

Now we may observe in general, that when young Men meet with Applause, and an early Reputation, (1) if they have Souls but slightly touched with Ambition, all their thirst for Glory is soon extinguished, and their Desires satiated; whereas Honours conferred on a more firm and solid Mind, illustrate and enlarge it; they neither dull the Appetite, nor strain the Capacity, but like a brisk Gale drive it on in pursuit of farther Glory. Such a Man looks upon Fame, not as a Reward of his present Virtue, but as an Earnest he has given of his future Performances; and is ashamed to underlive the Credit he has won, and not outshine his past illustrious Actions. *Marcus* had a Soul of this Frame. He was always endeavouring to excel Himself, and continually engaged in some new Exploit. Whatever extraordinary Action he had performed, he thought himself obliged to out-do it the next Opportunity. He added one great Action to Another, and heaped Trophies upon Trophies, 'till he became the Subject of a glorious Contest among the Generals, the latter of them still striving with his Predecessor, which should pay him the greatest respect, and speak highest in his Commendation. For the *Romans* having many Wars in those times, and frequent Engagements, *Marcus* was present at them All, and never returned without Laurels or Rewards; and whereas Others made Glory the

(1) The different Effects produced by early and forward Honours in groveling Minds, which are in a manner dead to Ambition, and in Such as are of an elevated Strain, panting after true Glory, are perfectly well distinguished in this Place; of which we have Examples in all Ages. They deaden the Spirit of Ambition in the One, and inflame it in the Others. But this Distinction will not hold when ap-

plied to Posts of Profit, and lucrative Employments. The most early and speedy of These render the Appetite of the First more craving and impatient: They are for having them heap'd upon them without endeavouring to deserve them; whereas the Others being satisfied to have deserved them look afterwards with an Eye of Indifference upon them.

end

end of their Valour, the end of his Glory was the (1) Gladness of his Mother, whom he loved most tenderly. The delight she took to hear him praised, and to see him crown'd, and her weeping for Joy in his Embraces, made him in his own Thoughts, the most honourable and happy Person in the World : A Sentiment not unlike That of *Epaminondas*, who is said to profess, that he reckoned it the greatest Felicity of his whole Life, that his Father and Mother still survived to behold his Conduct and Victory at *Leuctra*. He had the Satisfaction indeed to see both his Parents partake with Him, and enjoy the Pleasure of his good Fortune; but *Marcus* holding himself obliged to pay his Mother *Volumnia* all that Duty and Gratitude which would have belonged to his Father, could never satisfy his Mind, or think he did enough in all the Comforts and Caresses she received from him, but took a Wife also at her Motion and Entreaty; and after she had born him Children, lived still with his Mother. The repute of his Integrity and Courage had by this time gained him a considerable Interest and Authority at *Rome*, when the Senate favouring the richer sort of Citizens were at difference with the common People, who made grievous Complaints against the intolerable Severity of their Creditors. For Those that had any considerable Stock, were soon strip'd of their Goods by way of Pawns and Auctions; and Those that were already reduced, they carried to Prison, and kept their Bodies under Confinement, tho' they showed upon them the Scars and Wounds which they had received in the Service of their Country, in se-

(1) The greatest Men of Antiquity have, among their other Excellencies, been celebrated for their Duty and Affection to their Parents. At present it looks as if Men, highly commendable in other

Respects for their great Qualities, were dead to Sentiments so just and natural. Some we have indeed, who are of *Marcus's* Opinion, but they are not to be met with every Day.

veral

veral Expeditions; particularly in the Last against the *Sabines*; which they undertook upon a Promise made by the rich Creditors, that they would use them more mildly for the future, *Marcus Valerius* the Consul having engaged also for the Performance of it. But when they had fought there with Alacrity and Courage, and returned home Victors, no abatement of their Debts was made; the Senate too pretended to remember nothing of that Agreement, and beheld them without any concern dragged away like Slaves, and their Goods seiz'd upon as formerly. This caused frequent Tumults, and open Mutinies in the City; and the Enemy perceiving these Distractions among the People, began to invade and lay waste the Country. Upon This the Consuls gave notice that All that were of Age should appear in Arms; but no body obeyed the Summons. This set the Magistrates themselves at difference. Some thought it most advisable to comply a little with the Poor, and remit something of the strict Rigour of the Law. Others declared against that Proposal, and particularly *Marcus*. He thought the Business of the Money was not the main thing to be regarded; but looked upon these disorderly Proceedings as an Instance of the People's growing Insolence, and an Attempt to subvert the establish'd Laws; *it would therefore become the Wisdom of the Government to stop them in their first Career, and stifle those unruly Heats that were now flaming out into a Combustion.*

There had been frequent Conventions of the Senate in a few Days time about this Affair, but no satisfactory Conclusion could be agreed on. The Commonality perceiving no Redress, on a sudden rose all in a Body, and after some time spent in encouraging one another, left the City, and marching up that Ascent which is now called the *Holy Mount*, they sat down by the River *Anien*. They com-

committed no Act of Hostility, in their March, only they made heavy Outcries as they passed along, complaining, *that the rich Men had expelled, and thrust them out of the City; that Italy would every where afford them the Benefit of Air and Water for the small remainder of their Lives, and a Place of Burial when they died, which was all they had to expect, if they staid in Rome, besides being killed and wounded in time of War for the defence of their Oppressors.* The Senate dreading the Consequence of this Rupture, sent some of the gravest of their Order, such as were most moderate, and best beloved among the People, to treat with them.

Menenius Agrippa, their chief Spokesman, after much Courtship to the Rabble, and no less Freedom us'd on behalf of the Senate, came at length to conclude his Discourse with this celebrated Fable. It once happened, says he, that all the other Members of Man's Body fell to mutiny against the Stomach, which they accused as the only idle uncontributing Part in the Whole, while the rest were put to mighty Hardships, and the expence of much Labour to supply That, and minister to its appetites. But the provident and painful Stomach, hearing such a senseless charge brought against her, could not chuse but laugh at the Ignorance and Ill-breeding of those dissatisfied Members, who either wanted the Wit to understand, or else the Civility to acknowledge, that she receives the nourishment into her Office out of meer Charity to the publick, which she returns ever with Advantage; that being prepared by the Art of her Chimistry, it may pass and circulate to All, and so furnish them with spirits for Life and Action. Now this is exactly the case betwixt you and the Senate, O ye Roman Citizens, and the very Image of its Care and kind Dealing as to your Regard; for there they mingle Counsels, and digest Matters, which become the Strength and Maintenance of the whole State, and that secretly disperse and bring home all manner of Support and Convenience to every one of you. This

This Story, and the Application, pacified the People ; so they only desired the Choice of five Men to protect such as should need assistance, and relieve the Injured ; which Officers are now called Tribunes of the People. This was granted by the Senate ; and the two first they chose were (1) *Junius Brutus* and *Sicinius Vellutus*, the Ring-leaders of that Sedition. The City being thus re-united, the Commons presently took up Arms, and readily lifted themselves under their Commanders for the War. As for *Marcus*, tho' he was not a little displeased at these Incroachments of the Populace, and the declining Power of the Senate, and observed many other Patricians were of the same Mind ; yet he entreated them not to yield to the People in this Zeal for the Service of their Country, but to shew themselves superior to them, not so much in Power and Riches, as in their virtuous and heroick Minds.

The *Romans* were now at War with a Nation called the *Volscians*, whose principal Seat, or City of the greatest Note and Eminence, was that of *Corioli* ; when therefore *Cominius* the Consul had invested this important Place, the rest of the *Volscians*, fearing it should be taken, muster'd up whatever Force they could make from all Parts, in order to relieve it, designing to give the *Romans* Battel before the City, and so attack them on both Sides. *Cominius*, to avoide this Inconvenience, divided his Army, marching himself with one Body to encounter those *Volscians* that made towards him

(1) This was a very turbulent and seditious Person. He was a Man of Wit, and had a Flow of Words. His true Name was *Lucius Junius* ; and because He who had expelled the *Tarquins* was called *L. Junius Brutus*, this Mutineer, forsooth, that he might be entirely of the same Name with that renowned Deliverer of his Country must add that of *Brutus* to his other Names, and be called *Lucius Junius Brutus* too, which made him the Jest and Ridicule of Many.

from without, and leaving *Titus Larcius* (the bravest *Roman* of his time) to command the Other, and still carry on the Siege. Those within *Corioli* despising now the Smallness of that Number, made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein they prevailed at first, and pursued the *Romans* into their Trenches. Here *Marcus* with a small Party flying out to their Assistance, cut in pieces the First that were in his way, stood the Shock of the Rest, and stop'd them in their full Career; then with a great Shout recalled the *Romans*. For he had (what *Cato* required in a Soldier) not only an irresistible Stroke and dreadful Arm; but the very Sound of his Voice, and Terror of his Aspect, struck Horror and Confusion into the Enemy. Divers of his own Party then rallying and making up to him, the Enemies soon retreated for fear of a smarter Onset from Those they had but now routed: But *Marcus*, not content to see them draw off and retire, press'd hard upon the Rear, and drove them, as they fled away in haste, to the very Gates of their City; where perceiving the *Romans* to fall back from the Pursuit, beaten off by a multitude of Darts poured down upon them from the Walls, and that none of his Followers had the hardiness to think of falling in pell-mell among the Runagates, or forcing an Entrance into the City, which had a strong Garrison armed at all Points, and ready to give them a warm reception; he was however instant with, and did mightily encourage them by his Words and Actions, crying out, *That Fortune had now set open Corioli, not so much to shelter the Vanquished, as to receive the Conquerors*; which he had no sooner spoken, but seconded by a Few that were willing to venture with him, he bore along the Crowd, made good his Passage, and thrust himself into the Gate through the midst of them, no body daring to resist or sustain the violence of his first Impressions;

fions; but after he had looked well about him, and could discern but a very small number of Assistants who had slip'd in to engage in that hazardous Service, and saw that Friends and Enemies were now mingled together, there collecting all his Forces, he perform'd the most extraordinary and incredible Actions, as well for the Mightiness of his Force, as the Nimbleness of his Motion, and the Audacity of his Mind, breaking through all Opposition, constraining Some to shift for themselves in the farthest Corners of the City, and Others to throw down their Weapons, as despairing they should be able to oppose him. By all which he gave *Titus Larcus* a fair occasion to bring in the rest of the *Romans* with Ease and Safety.

Corioli being thus surpriz'd and taken, the greater part of the Soldiers fell presently to spoil and pillage, and seemed to have no other Cares about them but how to plunder, and carry off their Booty; at which *Marcus* was highly offended, and reproached them for it *as a dishonourable and unworthy thing, that whilst the Consul and their Fellow-Citizens were now perhaps encountering the other Volscians, and were hazarding their Lives in Battel, They should basely mis-spend their time in running up and down for Pelf and Treasure, and under a pretence of enriching themselves, decline the present Jeopardy*; yet for all he could alledge, there were not many that would leave plundering for a Share in Glory: (1) Putting himself then at the Head of those generous Spirits, that were still ready to deserve well, he took that Road where the Consul's Army had march'd before him, often exciting his Companions, and beseech-

(1) *Livy* makes no mention of this second Action of *Coriolanus*, which being still more glorious than the first, it is to be wonder'd at; but *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* gives us a full and particular Account of it.

ing them as they went along, *That they would not falter and give out*; praying often to the Gods too, that he might be so happy as to arrive before the Fight was over, and come seasonably up to assist *Cominius*, and partake in the peril of that Action.

It was customary with the *Romans* of that Age, when they stood in Battel-Array, and were taking up their Bucklers, and girding their Gowns about them, to make at the same time an unwritten Will or meer verbal Testament, and to name who should be their Heirs in the hearing of three or four Witnesses: In this Posture did *Marcus* find them at his arrival, the Enemy being advanced within View.

They were not a little disordered by his first appearance, seeing him all over bloody and sweating as he was, and attended with a small Train; but when he hastily made up to the Consul with an Air of Gladness in his Looks, giving him his Hand, and recounting to him how the City had been taken; when they saw *Cominius* also embrace and salute *Marcus* upon that Discourse, then every one took heart afresh, and both Such as were near enough to hear the Relation of his Success, and Those that, being at a greater distance, could only guess what had happened by the manner of their greeting, besought the Consul with a loud Voice, that he would lead them on to engage the Enemy; but *Marcus* first desired to know how the *Volscians* had disposed the Order of their Battalia, where they had placed the Men of Mettle, and the most resolute Part of the whole Army: *Cominius* told him he thought that the Troops of the *Antiates* in the main Body were Men of the best Courage, and inferior to none in Conduct and Bravery: *Let me then demand and obtain of you, says Marcus, that I may be directly confronted to these daring People.* The Consul favoured him in that Request, admiring much the forwardness and ardour of his Mind.

When the Conflict was begun, *Marcus* rally'd out before the rest, and charged with so much Fury, that the Van-Guard of the *Volsicians* were not able to stand their Ground: For wheresoever he fell in, he presently broke their Ranks, and made a Lane through them; but the Parties rallying again, and enclosing him on each side, the Consul, who observed the danger he was in, dispatched some of the choicest Men he had for his speedy Rescue. The Dispute then growing warm and sharp about *Marcus*, and Many falling dead in a little space, the *Romans* bore so hard upon the Enemies, and pressed them with such Violence, that they were forc'd at length to abandon their Stations, and to quit the Field; and going now to prosecute the Victory, they besought *Marcus*, tir'd out with his Toils, and faint and heavy through the loss of Blood, that he would retire himself to the Camp; but he replying, *that Weariness was a thing which did not besit Conquerors*, joyn'd with them in the Pursuit. The whole Army of the *Volsicians* was defeated, a great multitude being slain, and as many taken. The next Morning *Marcus* being sent for, and the other chief Officers summoned to attend in the General's Tent, the Consul mounted the Tribunal, and having in the first place rendered to the Gods the Thanks and Acknowledgements due for that important Victory, he then addressed himself to *Marcus*, whom he highly extolled for his many signal Exploits, part of which he had been an Eye-witness of himself, and had received the Rest upon the Testimony of *Lartius*. He then desired him to chuse a Tenth part of all the Treasure, and Horses, and Captives, that had fallen into their hands, before any division should be made to Others; beside which, he made him the Present of a goodly Horse with Trappings and Military Ornaments, as a Mark and Cognizance of his signal Fortitude; which being highly applauded by the whole Army, *Marcus* step'd forth

forth and declared his thankful acceptance of that single Horse, and how extreamly satisfied he was with the Praise and Elogy which his General had vouchsafed to bestow upon him ; but as for other things, which he looked upon rather as mercenary Pay than any significations of Honour, he did wave them all, and should be content that his proportion of such Rewards might not exceed That of the meanest Soldier. *I have only, says he, one singular Grace to beg, and this, Sir, I hope you will not deny me: There was among the Volscians a certain Friend of mine, bound with Me in the sacred Rights of Hospitality, a Person of great Probity and Virtue, who now is become a Prisoner, and from the Wealth and Freedom wherein he lived, reduc'd to Poverty and Servitude; the Man has fallen under many Misfortunes, but he would think it a sufficient Deliverance, if my Intercession shall redeem him from this One at least, that he may not be sold as a common Slave.* These Words of Marcius were followed with still louder Acclamations, and he had many more Admirers of this generous Resolution by which he conquered Avarice, than of the Valour he had shewn in subduing his Enemies. For those very Persons that were touch'd with Spite and Envy at seeing so many Honours heaped upon him, could not but acknowledge that he was worthy of still Greater, for thus nobly declining them ; and were more in love with that Virtue of his, which made him despise such Advantages, than That whereby he had deserved them. For 'tis much more commendable to make a right use of Riches, than Arms, and more honourable and heroick still to despise them, than to know how to make a right use of them. When the Acclamations began to cease, and Silence was obtained, Cominius turning to the People: *There is no way, says he, Fellow-Soldiers, of forcing these Gifts of ours on a Person above such Gratitudes and so unwilling to accept them: Let us therefore give him, what*

is so proper and suitable to the Service he has done, that he cannot reject it; let us pass a Vote that he shall hereafter be called Coriolanus, unless you think his Performance at Corioli has it self prevented us in decreeing him that Title. Hence therefore came his third Name of *Coriolanus*. By which it appears, that *Caius* was his proper Name; that the second or Sur-name of *Marcus* was a Name common to his House and Family; and that the third Roman Appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, drawn afterwards and impos'd either from some particular Fact, or Fortune, or Signature, or Virtue of Him that bore it; for thus also among the Greeks additional Titles were given to Some for their Exploits, as *Soter*, that is, *the Preserver*, and *Callanicus*, *the famous Conqueror*. Others for something remarkable in their Shape, as *Physon*, *the Gorge-Belly*, or *Crypus*, *Eagle-nos'd*: Or for their good Qualities, as *Euergetes*, *the Benefactor*; and *Philadelphus*, *the lover of his Brethren*; or their good Fortune, as *Eudæmon*, *the Prosperous*; an Epithet given to the second Prince of the *Batti*. Several Princes also have had Names appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as *Antigonus* That of *Doson*, or *One that was liberal only in the future*, since he always promised, but never came to Performance; and *Ptolomy*, who was styled *Lamyrus*, for the fond Opinion he had of his own Wit and Pleasantness; which latter kind of Denomination, by way of Railery, the Romans did very much delight in; for one of the *Metelli* was surnamed by them *Diadematus*, because he had for a long time together walked about with his Head bound up, by reason of an Ulcer in his Forehead.

Another of the same Family they called *Celer*, i. e. *the swift or nimble*, for that Expedition and Dispatch he made to procure them a Funeral Entertainment of so many pair of Gladiators, within a few days after his Father's Death; the haste and magni-

magnificence of which Provision, was thought very strange and extraordinary for so short a time. There are Some that even at this Day derive their Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; One for Instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*; but if after his Decease, they style him *Posthumus*; and when two Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor of them is called *Vopiscus*; nay, they use to denominate not only their *Sylla's* and *Nigers*, that is, Men of a pimpled or swarthy Visage, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, the blind and the lame, from such corporal Blemishes and Defects; thus wisely accustoming their People not to reckon either the loss of Sight, or any other bodily Misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace to them, but that they should answer to such Names without shame or confusion, no otherwise than the most familiar and Civil Compellations: But to treat of these thing is not so proper to the Argument I have now in hand.

The War against the *Volsicians* was no sooner at an end, but the popular Tribunes and factious Orators fell again to revive domestick Troubles, and raise another Sedition, without any cew cause of Complaint or just Grievance to proceed upon; but those very mischiefs that did unavoidably ensue from their former differences and contests, were then made use of as a ground and pretence to quarrel with the Nobility: (1) The greatest part of their Arable Land had been left unsown and without Til-

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* observes, that the People withdrew to the Sacred Mountain soon after the Autumnal Equinox, just before Seed-time; and as for the Labourers and Farmers, These espoused the Party of the Rich, and Those That of the Poor, inso-much that the Fields were left un-

tilled; and when at last the Troubles were composed it was so late in the Year, (for it was not effected 'till the Winter Solstice) it was impossible to make good the time that had been lost; for they had made no Provision for Seed-Corn; their Draught-Horses were dead, and their Slaves run away.

lage, (1) and the time of War allowing them no means or leisure to fetch in Provision from other Countries, there was an extream scarcity in *Rome*: The Movers of the People then observing that there was neither Corn brought into the Market, or if there had been any to supply them, yet they wanted Money to buy it, began to calumniate the Wealthy, and whisper it about, as if They, out of an old Grudge, and to revenge themselves, had purposely contrived it thus, to bring a Famine upon them. While these things were in agitation, there came an Embassie from the *Velitrani*, who delivered up their City to the *Romans*, desiring that they would send some new Inhabitants to people it, inasmuch as a late Pestilential Disease had swept away so many of the Natives, and made such havock and destruction among them, that there was hardly a tenth part remaining of their whole Community. Now this sad necessity of the *Velitrani* was considered by the more prudent sort as a seasonable relief unto themselves, and seemed to happen very opportunely for the present state of their Affairs; for not only the Dearth of Victuals had made it needful to ease and unburden the City of its superfluous Members, but they were in hope also at the same time, by this means, to scatter and dissolve the Faction which now threatened them, through a purgation and discharge of the more restless and inflamed Party, that like a redundancy of morbid Humours, put them all into so dangerous a Ferment. Such as These therefore the Consuls singled out to supply the desolation at *Velitrae*, and gave notice to

(1) They sent to buy some among the *Volsicians*, at *Cuma*, and in *Sicily*. The *Volsicians* used their Factors very roughly; *Aristodemus* laid his Hands on the Corn they had bought at *Cuma*; and

Those, who undertook the Service in *Sicily* met with very stormy Weather at Sea, and could not for a long time arrive with their Convoys.

Others

Others that they should be ready to march against the *Volsians*, which was politickly designed to prevent intestine Broils, by employing them abroad. And there was some reason to presume, that when as well the Rich as the Poor, Those of the *Plebeian* side, and the *Patrician* Interest, should be mingled again in the same Army, and the same Camp, and engage in one common Service and Jeopardy for the Publick, it would mutually dispose them to reconciliation and friendship, and to live upon gentler terms, and after a more sweet and benign fashion with each other.

But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, the Two factious *Demagogues*, opposed both these Designs; exclaiming publicly, that the Consuls were going to disguise the most cruel and barbarous Action in the World, under that so mild and plausible name of a Colony, for no other end, but that they might precipitate so many poor Citizens, as it were, into the very gulf of Perdition, by removing them to settle in an infectious Air, and a Place that was covered with noisome Carcasses, and sending them to sojourn (1) under a strange and revengeful Deity; and then, as if it would not satisfy their hatred, to destroy Some by Hunger, and expose Others to the mercy of a Plague, they most proceed to involve them also in a needless War of their own chusing; that all other Calamities might fall upon the City at once, because it did refuse to bear That of being any longer in slavery to the Rich.

By which kind of Discourses, the People were so filled with Aversion and Insolence, that none

(1) The *Pagans* looked on the Plague as a destructive Deity. In the first Intermede of *Sophocles's* *Ædipus* the Chorus prays *Minerva* to chase away that destructive God, who without Sword or Buckler fills Thebes with Heaps of Dead; and calls him *Mars*, because of the Havock he makes. Here the Tribunes call it a strange Deity, because the Plague is directly opposite or repugnant to Nature.

of them would appear upon the Consular Summons to be listed for the War, and they did as little relish the Proposal for a new Plantation: This put the Senate into such perplexity, that it was utterly at a loss what to say or do. But *Marcus*, who began now to swell and bear himself higher than ordinary, and to take more Spirit and Confidence from his noble Actions, being admired too by the best and greatest Men of *Rome*, did openly oppose the Harangues and Practices of these popular Incendiaries; so that in spite of them a Colony was dispatched to *Velitrae*; Those that were chosen by Lot, being obliged to depart and repair thither upon high Penalties: But when he saw them obstinately persist in refusing to Inroll themselves for the *Volscian* Service, (1) *Marcus* then muster'd up his own Clients, and as many Others as could be wrought upon by Persuasion; and with These he made an Inroad into the Territories of the *Antiates*, where finding a considerable Quantity of Corn, and lighting upon much Booty both of Cattel and Prisoners, he reserved nothing for himself in private, but returned safe and empty to *Rome*, while Those that ventured out with him were seen loaded with rich Pillage, and driving their Prey before them; which made the rest that staid at home repent of their Perverseness, and envy such as had sped so well by the Enterprize; yea, and to be aggrieved and repine at *Marcus*, and the Power and Reputation he still got, as that which did increase and rise only to the lessening and ruin of the People's Interest. (2) Not long after This he stood for the Consulship, when they be-

(1) Several of the Patricians voluntarily offered to serve in that War. These were followed by their Clients, to whom were joined Some of the People; and *Coriolanus* being attended by his own

Friends and Clients, went at the Head of them. *Dionys. lib. vii.*

(2) It was the next Year, being the third of the 72d Olympiad, 488 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

gan to relent, and inclined to favour him, as being sensible what a Shame it would be to repulse and affront a Man of his Family and Courage, and that too after he had done them so many signal Services, and been the Author of so much good and benefit to the Publick. Now it was the Custom for Those who pretended to Offices and Dignities among them, to solícite and caress the People at their General Assemblies, clad only in a loose Gown, without any Coat under it, either to promote their Supplications the better, by suing in such an humble Habit, or that such as had receiv'd Wounds in the War might thus more readily demonstrate the visible Tokens of their Fortitude: For it was not from any Suspicion the People then had of Bribery and Corruption, that they required such as did petition them to appear ungirt and open without any close Garment; for it was much later, and many Ages after This, that buying and selling crept in at their Elections, and Money was an Ingredient in the publick Suffrages; but Gifts and Presents had no sooner shewn what influence they had, and what Parties they could make for chusing Magistrates, but the same Practice came to attempt their Tribunals, and even attack their Camps, 'till by hiring the Valiant, and enslaving Iron to Silver, it grew Master of the State, and turned their Commonwealth into a Monarchy; for it was well and truly said by Him, who did affirm, *That the Person who first began to give Treats and Largesses to the People, was He that first deprived them of their Strength and Power*; but the Mischief it seems stole secretly in, and by little and little, not being presently discerned and taken notice of at Rome; for it is not certainly known who the Man was that did there first either bribe the Citizens, or corrupt the Bench; but in Athens it is said, that *Anitus* the Son of *Anthemion* was the first that gave Money

ney to the Judges, toward the latter end of the *Peloponnesian* War, he being then accused of Treachery, for delivering up the Fort of *Pyle*; whilst uncorrupt Judges, the Remains of the golden Age, did as yet preside and give Sentence in the *Roman* Courts. *Marcus* therefore, as the Fashion of Pretenders was, laying open the Scars and Gashes that were still visible in his Body, from those innumerable Battles and Conflicts wherein he had successively engaged, and always victoriously signalled himself for (1) seventeen Years together; out of a certain reverence for his Virtue they were ashamed to refuse him, and therefore engaged One with the Other to chuse him *Consul*; but when the Day of Election was now come, and *Marcus* appeared at the Place where they were to give their Votes, with a pompous Train of Senators attending him, and all the *Patricians* did manifestly express a greater Concern, and acted more vigorously in this Particular than they had ever done before on the like Occasion; the Commons then fell off again from all the kindness they had conceived for him, and instead of their late Benevolence, were carried to Indignation and Envy on the sudden; the Malignity of which Passions was assisted too, by the general Fear they were in, that if a Man, who was clearly for having the Senate govern, and was so mightily respected by the Nobles, should be invested with all the Power which that Office would give him, he might employ it to their Prejudice, and utterly deprive the People of that Liberty which was yet left them: Being therefore so ill affected, and reasoning thus among

(1) I know not what Authority *Plutarch* has for This; but according to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, the most exact of all Historians, there were but six Years between *Coriolanus's* first Campaign, and his setting up for the Consulate; for he began to bear Arms in the Year of *Rome* 258, and stood for that Office in 263. them.

themselves, in conclusion they rejected *Marcus*. When two others were declared Consuls, the Senate took it extremely ill, reckoning that the Indignity reflected more on themselves than *Marcus*, who for his own part was more sensibly nettled at this Proceeding, and could not bear the Disgrace with any Temper: Having used to indulge the more violent and impetuous passions of his Soul, as if there was something of Bravery and Grandeur in such Transports, without a due Mixture of that Gravity and Gentleness, Virtues so necessary for civil Conduct, and which are the Effects of mature Reason, and a good Education; He did not consider, that whoever undertakes to manage publick Business, and converse with Men, must above all things avoid an Obstinacy of Opinion which (as *Plato* says) is fit for conversing with nothing but Solitude, and endeavour to endear himself by the contrary Qualities, so much derided by the Ignorant and Injudicious, such as Patience and Forbearance; whereas *Marcus* being plain and artless, but ever rigid and inflexible, and strongly persuaded, that to prevail and vanquish All he had to do with, was the proper work of Fortitude, and not rather a Weakness and Effeminacy of Mind, which pushes out Fury from within, like the Swelling of a bruised and painful Part, flung away in great Disorder, being bitterly enraged against the People. The youngest part of the Patricians, that carried it highest on account of their Birth, and made the greatest Figure in the City, were always wonderfully devoted to his Interest, and happening unfortunately to be present at that time, and engaged on his Side, by their Resentments and Condolence, much aggravated his Misfortunes, and enflamed him; for He was their Leader in every Expedition, and a kind Instructor in all Martial Affairs; he taught them also a truly virtuous Emulation;
to

to value themselves on a good Deed, without Detraction, and praise one another without Envy.

In the midst of these Distempers a great Quantity of Corn was brought into *Rome*, a considerable part whereof had been bought up in *Italy*, which was equaled by another Stock from *Syracuse*, as a Present from *Gelo*, King of *Sicily*; so that Many began to have good hopes of their Affairs, expecting the City would by this Means be delivered at once both from its Want and Discord. The Council being thereon immediately called, the People came flocking about the Senate-house, eagerly attending the Issue of that Deliberation, and expecting that the Market-Rates would be gentle and easie for That which had been bought, and that That which was sent in as a Gift, and came on free-cost, should be distributed *gratis* among them; for there were Some within who advised the Senate thus to moderate the Price of the One, and give such Orders for the Disposal of the Other. But *Marcus* standing up, did sharply inveigh against Those who spoke in favour of the Multitude, calling them Flatterers of the Rabble, and Traitors to the Senate; affirming, *That by such mean and foolish Gratifications they nourished those ill Seeds of Boldness and Petulance, that had been sown among the People, to their own Prejudice; which they would have done well to observe and stifle at their first Appearance, and not have suffered the Plebeians to grow so strong, by giving such exorbitant Authority to their Tribunes; for they were become formidable by complying with them in whatever they demanded, and yielding to their Humour; so that living in a Sort of Anarchy, they would no longer obey the Consuls, or own any Superior, but the Heads and Leaders of their own Faction; and when things are come to this pass, for us, says he, to sit here and decree Largesses and Distributions for them,*

them, like the Grecians, where the Populace is supreme and absolute ; what would it be else but to cherish and indulge their Insolence, to the Ruin of us all ? For sure they will not pretend to these Liberalities, as a Reward of publick Service, which themselves know they have so often deserted ; nor of those Seditions whereby they have so often betray'd their Country ; or of those Slanders they have been always ready to promote against the Senate ; but will rather conclude that a Bounty, which seems to have no other visible Cause, must be the Effect of our Fear and Flattery ; and so expecting still farther Submissions, they will come to no end of their Disobedience, nor ever cease from Riot, Uproars and seditious Practices. To do This therefore, would be direct Madness in us. Nay, if we had the Wisdom, that becomes Men of our Order, we should go directly and demolish that Tribunicial Power of theirs, which is a plain Subversion of the Consulship, and a perpetual Ground of Division in our City, that is no longer united as heretofore, but has received such a Wound and Rupture, as is never likely to close again, and suffer us to be of a joint Body, and the same Mind ; or to leave heightning our own Distempers, and being a Plague and Torment to each other. Marcius having said (1) a great deal to this Purpose, inspired the young Senators with the same furious Sentiments, and had almost all the Rich on his side, who cry'd him up as the only Man their City had that was insuperable by Force, and above Flattery. But some of the more grave and sober opposed him, suspecting the bad Consequence of such a Proceeding, which proved accordingly ; for the Tribunes that were then present, perceiving how the Proposal

(1) Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating and terrible Passage in Coriolanus's Charge against the People, wherein he concludes and proposes that in order

to tame them, they ought to sell the Corn at as high a Rate as when they were under the greatest Scarcity.

of *Marcus* took, ran out into the Crowd exclaiming, and calling on the *Plebeians* to stand together, and come in to their Assistance. The People therefore flocking together with great Noise and Tumult were informed of *Marcus's* Proposal, whereupon they fell into such a Rage, that they were ready to break in upon the Senate. But the Tribunes prevented that, by laying all the Blame on *Coriolanus*, whom they cited to appear before them, and give an account of his Behaviour; and when he had repulsed those Officers, with contempt, that brought him the Summons, they came presently themselves with the *Ædiles*, or Overseers of the Market, designing to carry him away by Force, and accordingly attempted to seize his Person. But the Nobility striking in to his rescue, thrust off the Tribunes, and beat the *Ædiles*, and then the Night approaching broke off the Quarrel. But as soon as it was Day, the Consuls observing the People highly exasperated, and that they ran from all Quarters, and met together in the *Forum*, were afraid for the whole City; so convening the Senate again, they desired them to advise how by good Words and milder Edicts they might pacify and compose the raging Multitude: For if they prudently considered the State of their Affairs, they must find that it was not now a time to stand upon Punctilios of Honour, and contend for Reputation; but that such a dangerous and critical Conjunction demanded gentle Methods and good-natured Counsels. The Majority of the Senate coming in to these Measures, the Consuls proceeded to intreat and soften the Minds of the People as much as possible, answering mildly to the Imputations cast upon the Senate, and mixing tender Admonitions and Reproaches to the People. And as to a Supply of the Market with Provisions, and at reasonable Rates, they said there should be no Difference at all between them. When a great part of the Com-

Commonality were grown cool, as appeared by their orderly and quiet Audience, (1) the Tribunes stood up and declared, that since the Senate were at length pleased to submit to Reason, and act soberly with the People, They in their turn were ready to condescend to all things that were fair and equitable; but at the same time they demanded *Marcius* to give his Answer to these Particulars: First, *Whether he could deny that he had incited the Senate to subvert the Government, and destroy the Authority of the People?* and in the next Place, *Whether when he was called to account for it, he did not disobey their Summons?* and last of all, *Whether by the Blows and other publick Affronts given to the Ædiles, he did not, as far as was in his Power, commence a Civil War, and stir up, and provoke the Citizens to take up Arms one against another?*

These Articles were brought on purpose either to humble *Marcius*, and make it appear he was of a mean Spirit, if contrary to his Nature he should now stoop to and court the People; or if he still kept up to the height of his Resolution (which they had greater hopes of, guessing rightly at the Man) he might incur their Displeasure to such a degree, as to make them for ever irreconcilable.

Coriolanus therefore appearing as it were to justify himself from the Impeachment, the People stood silent, and gave him a quiet Hearing. But when, instead of the submissive Language which was expected, he began to use not only an offensive Freedom, and the Liberty of an Accusation rather than Apology; but by his fierce tone of Voice, as well as the stern, intrepid air of his Countenance, demonstrated a Security little differing from Disdain and Contempt, the whole Multitude was incensed, and gave sufficient Indications of their Dis-

(1) It was the Tribune C. *Sicinius Bellutus*, who on purpose to prevent any Agreement made use

of this Trick, and addressed himself seemingly to *Coriolanus* as if he had been present, and within Hearing.

gust and Indignation at his Discourse. Hereupon *Sicinius*, the boldest of all the Tribunes, after a little Conference with the rest of his Collegues, pronounced before them all *That Marcius was condemned to die by the Tribunes of the People*; and commanded the *Ædiles* to drag him immediately up to the *Tarpeian Rock*, and hurl him headlong from the Precipice. But when they went to seize him, the Action appeared horrible and insolent, even to many of the *Plebeian Party*. But the *Patricians* were so much affected with it, that almost out of their Wits, they cried all for Help, and surrounding *Marcius* got him among them, whilst Some made use of their Hands to keep off the Arrest, and Others stretched out Theirs in Supplication to the Multitude. But in so great a Hurry and Tumult, there was no good to be done by Words and Outcries, 'till the Friends and Acquaintance of the Tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off *Marcius* to Punishment without much Bloodshed and Slaughter of the Nobility, persuaded them to drop the unusual and odious Part of it, and not to dispatch him violently, and without the due Forms of Justice, but refer all to the general Suffrage of the People. Then *Sicinius* desisting a little, demanded of the *Patricians* what they meant by thus forcibly rescuing *Marcius* out of the Hands of the People, when they were going to inflict due Punishment on him? The Senate in reply demanded of him again, *What is your meaning, and what do you design, by thus hauling one of the worthiest Men in Rome to such a barbarous and illegal Execution, without so much as the ordinary Privilege of a free Tryal? If that be all*, said *Sicinius*, *it shall serve you no longer as a Pretence for your Quarrels and factious Differences with the People; they grant what you require, that the Man be judged according to Course of Law. And as for you Marcius, we assign you the third Session Day*

Day to make your Appearance and Defence, and try if you can satisfy the Citizens of your Innocence, who will then by Vote determine your Fate. The Noblemen were content with a Respite for that time, and returned home well satisfied, having brought off *Marcus* in Safety.

In the mean time, before the third Session (for the *Romans* hold their Sessions every ninth Day, which from thence are called in *Latin Nundinæ*) (1) there fell out a War with the *Antiates*, which because it was like to be of some Continuance, gave them hopes of evading the Judgment, presuming the People would grow mild and tractable, and their Fury lessen by degrees, and languish, if not totally cease, while they were taken up with the Business of that Enterprize: But Those of *Antium* having made a Peace with the *Romans* sooner than was expected, the Army returned home, and the *Patricians* were again in great Perplexity, and had frequent Meetings and Consultations among themselves, the Subject of which was, how things might be so managed that they should neither desert *Marcus*, nor give occasion to Those that influenced the People to put them into new Disorders. Now *Appius Claudius*, who was most of all averse to the Popular Interest, made a solemn Declaration, and told them, *That the Senate would utterly destroy it self, and betray the Government, if they should once suffer the People to become their Judges, and assume the Authority of pronouncing capital Sentence upon any of the Patricians:* But the oldest, and most inclined

(1) Advice was brought all of a sudden to *Rome*, that the *Antiates* had seized on the Ships belonging to *Gelo's* Ambassadors in their Return to *Sicily*; that they had confiscated the Ships, and clapped the Ambassadors in Prison, Hereupon the *Romans* took up Arms in Defence of, and for the Deliverance of their Friends and Allies; but the *Antiates* perceiving the Storm was ready to fall upon them, submitted and asked Pardon, at the same time releasing the Ambassadors, and restoring their Effects.

to Popularity, delivered it as their Opinion, *That the People would not be too hard and severe upon them, but more kind and gentle by the Concession of such a Power : For, said they, they do not condemn the Senate, but are afraid of being condemned by it; and the Allowance of such a Prerogative of judging will be a Testimony of Respect, and a means of Comfort to them, so that at the Moment they receive a Liberty to vote in such Cases, they will drop their Animosities.* When *Coriolanus* saw the Senate in suspense upon his account, divided between the Kindness they had for him and their Apprehensions from the People, he desired to know of the Tribunes the Crimes they intended to charge him with, and the Heads of that Indictment they would oblige him to plead to before the People; and being told that he was to be accused of arbitrary Government, and Tyranny; (1) *Let me go then, said he, to clear my self of that Imputation before them; and I promise to refuse no sort of Cognizance touching this Article, nor any Punishment whatever, if I be convicted of it; provided you keep to That alone, and do not impose upon the Senate.* When they had made him a Promise of it upon those Terms and Conditions, he submitted to his Tryal.

The People being met, the first thing the Tribunes did was to obtain by Force that the Suffrages should be taken (2) by Tribes, and not by Centuries;

(1) He knew at first View the Absurdity of such a Charge, which was impossible for them to make good against him, because, as he Himself saith, in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, it was never known that any Person, in order to become a Tyrant, joined with the Nobility against the People, but on the contrary conspired with the People to destroy the Nobility. Besides he

did not doubt but the whole Course of his Life would manifestly justify him against such an Accusation.

(2) For the Nobility, and the more Wealthy, had the strongest Interest in the Centuries, which would have been in Favour of *Coriolanus*, for out of 183 Centuries he was sure of, at least, 98; that is, the whole first Class, consisting of

Centuries; whereby the indigent and factious Rabble, who had no regard for Honour or Honesty, would be sure to carry it at the Poll, against the more wealthy Citizens as well as against the military Men, and *Patricians*. In the next place, whereas they had engaged to prosecute *Marcus* upon no other Head but That of Tyranny (which could never be made out against him) they did wave and relinquish this Plea, and instead thereof, fell to repeat and aggravate some Words of his which had been formerly spoken in the Senate; as, that he did there oppose and dissuade an Abatement of the Price of Corn, and advised and encouraged them to resume the *Tribunitian* Power; (1) adding further, as a new Impeachment, the Distribution that was made by him of the Spoil and Booty he had taken from the *Antiates*, when he over-run their Country, which upon his own head he had divided among Those that were readiest to follow him; whereas it ought rather to have been brought into the publick Store-house, and disposed of by Authority of the Senate for the common Interest; which last Accusation did, they say, more surprize and discompose *Marcus* than all the rest, as not expecting he should ever be questioned upon that Subject, and therefore less provided to give a plausible and satisfactory Answer to it on the sudden; but when, by way of

of the Knights and the wealthiest of the Citizens, whereas the Populace had the greatest Interest in the Tribes, wherefore the Tribunes were sure of carrying their Point, tho' never so unjust, by That way of voting. The Reader may find this Matter handled at large in *Dionys. lib. vii.*

(1) When *Decius* the Tribune perceived the Tribes began to be touch'd with *Coriolanus's* Defence, and were upon the Point of ac-

quitting him, he trump'd up this new Article; not that this Distribution of the Spoils was in it self what they imputed to him, but the Tribunes would have it infer'd from thence that he did it in order to corrupt the Forces, that by their Assistance he might be able to enslave his Country, and secure to himself the Tyranny. This *Plutarch* might have added from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.

excuse, he began to magnify the Merits of Those who had been Partakers with him in the Action, Such as staid at home being more numerous than the Other, and not enduring to hear Them commended, did so disturb him by the noise they made, that he could not proceed upon that Argument. In conclusion, when they came to vote, he was condemned (1) by a Majority of three entire Tribes, out of one and twenty, and the Penalty to which they adjudged him, was perpetual Banishment. After Declaration of the Sentence, the People went away with greater Joy, Transport and Triumph than they had ever shewn for any Victory against their Enemies: But the Senate was all in Heaviness, and a deep Dejection; repenting now and vex'd, that they had not done and suffered any thing rather than given way to the People's Insolence, and let Them assume so great Authority. There was no need then to look upon their Habit, or other Marks of Distinction, to discern a Senator from any vulgar Citizen, for it soon appeared that the Brisk and Gay were all *Plebeians*; and you might know a Nobleman by his sad Countenance: only *Marcus* seemed not shock'd or humbled in the least at his Misfortune, appearing still in his Gesture, Motion and Aspect, the same steady Man, and among all Others of his Rank, that were so deeply touch'd, Alone unaffected with it. But this Insensibility was not owing to Reason or a Sweetness of Temper, much less to his Patience and Moderation; It was because he was then full of Rancor and Indignation. (2) And tho' the Generality

(1) *Sigonius* infers from this Passage, that at that time there were no more than One and Twenty Tribes in *Rome*, whereas there were thirty five in all. It is true that the Tribunes, to assure themselves of Success in that Under-

taking, had, as it were, sunk Fourteen of them, summoning no more than twenty one to Vote on that Occasion.

(2) This Reflection is very just, and worthy a Philosopher. On these Occasions we generally look on

nerality of Mankind are not sensible of it, this is ever the State of a Mind sunk in Grief. That Passion, when in the height, dilates it self, and is inflamed; it turns to a sort of Madness, and banisheth out of the Mind it possesseth all Weakness and Dejection. Hence likewise it is that an angry Man seems couragious, as One in a Fever seems to be a-fire, the Soul being all in Motion, and as it were, all boiling over. Now such was *Marcius's* Case, as he made appear immediately by his following Actions; for upon his return home, he embraces his Mother and Wife, who were all in Tears; and taking his Leave of them (1) he exhorted them to bear their Afflictions patiently. This done, he hasten'd to One of the City Gates, whither all the Nobility attended him; and there, without so much as taking any thing with him, or asking one Question, he left them, accompanied with only three or four of his Clients. He continued solitary for a few Days in some of his Villas near *Rome*, distracted with variety of Thoughts, such as Rage and Indignation suggested; in which he proposed not any honourable End or Advantage to Himself, but only how to satisfy his Revenge upon the *Romans*; for which Purpose, at last, he resolv'd to raise a heavy War against them.

In order hereunto, his Business was in the first place to make tryal of the *Volscians*, whom he knew to be still vigorous and flourishing enough both in

on this Insensibility as an Instance of Meekness and Moderation, but we are deceived, as *Plutarch* has very well observed. It proceeds, if we may so call it, from an unutterable Grief, which swells the Mind, removes from it all Dejection, and makes it seem compos'd at a time when it is in the greatest Anguish, and full of Resentment.

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* adds, that he recommended to them the Care of his two Infant Children, One of which was ten Years of Age, and the Other at the Breast. I wonder *Plutarch* should omit this Circumstance, which serves to heighten the Compassion.

Strength and Treasure, (1) and did imagine their Force and Power was not so much abated, as their Spight and wrathful Pertinancy was increased, by the late Overthrows they had received from the *Romans*. Now there was a Man of *Antium*, called *Tullus Aufidius*, who, for his Wealth and Prowess, and the Splendor of his Family, had the Respect and Privilege of a King among all the *Volscians*, but One whom *Marcus* knew to have a particular Pique and an inveterate Malice against him above any *Roman* whatsoever; for there having frequent Menaces and Challenges pass'd between them as they met together in the Field, and by often defying each other through a Competition of their Valour (as the Strife and Emulation of youthful Spirits do usually prompt them to such Braveries) they had, besides the common Quarrel of their Country, conceived a mutual Enmity and private Hatred to each other; but for all this, considering the great Generosity of *Tullus*, and that none of the *Volscians* did so much desire an occasion to return back upon the *Romans* some part of the Evils they had done them, he ventured at a thing which mightily confirms that Saying of the Poet;

(2) *Hard with Anger is the Strife,
Which Pleasure purchases with Life.*

For putting on such Clothes and Habiliments, by which he might appear most unlike the Person he

(1) This is a sure Maxim in Politics, confirmed almost by daily Experience. When a powerful People meet with any Shocks, and are defeated, it serves only to irritate their Jealousy and Animosity, and they want nothing but a favourable Occasion to make it appear.

(2) It is not known what Poet *Plutarch* means, who was the Author of these Verses. He represents Anger as a domineering Mistress, who will be deny'd nothing she has a Mind to. Her Appetite must be satisfied, tho' We do it at the Expence of Life it self. This is a fine instructive Image.

was,

was, to All that should see him in that Equipage, as *Homer* says of *Ulysses*,

He stole into the hostile Town.—

His Arrival at *Antium* was about Evening; and though Several met him in the Streets, yet he passed along without being known to Any, and went directly on to the House of *Tullus*; where stealing in undiscovered, he presently made up to the (1) Fire-hearth (a Place that was sacred to their *Lares*) and seated himself there, without speaking a Word, or using any Motion, after he had cover'd his Head to prevent observance. Those of the Family could not chuse but wonder at the Man's Confidence, and yet they were afraid either to raise or question him, (for there was a certain Air of Majesty about him, which shew'd it self both in his Posture and his Silence) but they recounted the strangeness of this Accident to *Tullus*, who was at Supper, and immediately rose from Table, and coming to *Coriolanus*, ask'd him, *Who he was, and for what Business he came thither?* Whereupon *Marcus* unmuffling himself, and pausing a while, *If, says he, thou canst not yet call me to mind, Tullus, if thou dost not believe thy own Eyes concerning me, I must of necessity be my own Accuser; Know therefore that I am Caius Marcius, the Author of so much Mischief to the Volscians, which if I should offer to deny, the Surname of Coriolanus I now bear would be a sufficient Evidence against me; for I have no other Recompence to boast of for all the Hardships and Perils I have gone through during the Wars between us, but a Title that proclaims my Enmity to your Nation, and This is the only thing which is still*

(1) The Fire-hearth was esteemed a sacred Place; thither therefore all Supplicants resorted, as to an *Asylum*.

left me; as for other Advantages, I have been stripped and deprived of them All at once by the Envy and Outrage of the Roman People, and through the Cowardise and Treachery of the Magistrates, and Those of my own Order; so that I am driven out as an Exile, and become an humble Suppliant before thy household Gods, not so much for Safety and Protection, (for what should make me come hither, had I been afraid to die?) as to seek and procure Vengeance against Those that have expelled me from my Country; which, methinks, I have already obtained, by putting my self into thy Hands: If thou hast a mind to attack thy Enemies, come on, Tullus, reap the Benefit of my Miseries, and make my Personal Calamities become a National Benefit to the Volsci. I shall do so much more Service in fighting for, than against you, (1) as They can manage the War better, who are privy to, than Such as are unacquainted with the Secrets of the Enemy. If Thou art averse to the War, I am so too; neither is it fit for Me to live, or Thee to preserve a Person who has been always thy Enemy, and now when he would be thy Friend proves useless and unserviceable.

Tullus was highly delighted at this Discourse, and giving him his Right Hand, Rise, says he, Marcius, and take Courage. The Present you thus make of your self is inestimable, and you may assure your self that the Volscians will not be ungrateful.

When he had said This he took him instantly with him to the Table, where he entertained him

(1) That is, They who are acquainted with the Fort, and Foible of the Enemy, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* has explained it. For Example, *Coriolanus* knew that Rome was at present divided; that She had no experienced Officers; and that consequently This was the only time to attack her. He knew every thing necessary to the

making a right Use of her Diffentions. In short, he was acquainted with all the Methods taken by the Romans to aggrandise themselves; the Usurpations they had made, and on what Pretexes they were to be reclaimed; and We shall find that this Knowledge was of great Use to him in the Consequence.

with great Kindness and Hospitality. The next and the following Days they entered into close Debate upon the Means of renewing the War, and carrying it on with Vigour and Success.

While this Design was forming, there were great Troubles and Commotions at *Rome*, from the Animosity of the Senators against the People, which came to be heightned by the late Condemnation of *Marcius*; beside their Southsayers and Priests, and even private Persons, (1) brought in fearful Accounts of Signs and Prodigies, that were very much to be regarded, One whereof I shall mention here, which they report happened in this manner: (2) *Titus Latinus*, one of ordinary Condition, but yet a sober and virtuous Man, free from all *superstitious Fancies*, on one hand, and much more from *Vanity* and *Boasting* on the other, had an *Apparition* in his Sleep, as if *Jupiter* came within view, and bid him tell the Senate, *That at the Games they had been celebrating to his Honour they had caused the Procession to be conducted by an ill-favoured Leader, which had much dishonoured him.* At first he did not much mind this Vision, but having seen and flighted it a second and third time, he then saw the most hopeful Son he had expire before his Eyes; and his own Body was so struck and loosen'd on a sudden, that Himself became utterly impotent. These things he related, being at his Desire brought

(1) Of several Apparitions and dreadful Spectres; of uncommon Voices, and monstrous Births; of inspired Women denouncing many terrible Calamities with which the City was threatned, &c. These Prodigies happened the Year after *Coriolanus's* Exile, under the Consulship of *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *Sp. Largius Flavius*, the Third Year of the 72d Olympiad.

(2) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith of him, that he was a worthy old Man, of no mean Fortune, but chusing to spend the greatest Part of his time in the Country, where he work'd with his own Hands. *Livy* calls him *Titus Atinius*, which in all Likelihood may be a Mistake; for *Dionysius* gives him the same Name with *Plutarch*, he calls him *Titus Latinus*.

into

into the Senate on a Couch: The Story goes that he had no sooner delivered his Message, but he felt his Strength and Vigour return, so that he got upon his Legs, and went home without any Assistance. The Senators being surpris'd at it, made a strict enquiry into the Matter; which proved to be This. A certain Person had given up a Servant of His to the rest of his Fellows, with Charge first to whip him through the Market, and then to kill him. While they were executing this Command, and scourging the Fellow, that screw'd himself into all manner of Postures, and disagreeable Shapes, through the Torture he was in, (1) a solemn Procession in Honour of *Jupiter* chanced to follow at their Heels. Several of the Assistants were very much scandaliz'd at such a Sight, the horrible Sufferings and the indecent Postures of that Wretch being equally offensive to the Spectators, and detested by them; yet no Body would interpose, or call the Actors to account for it, they only spent some Reproaches and Curses on the Master, who was so bitter and barbarous in his Inflictions: For the *Romans* treated their Servants with much Humanity in those days, because they did then work and labour themselves and live together among them, and so were apt to be more gentle and familiar with their own Domesticks; for it was one of the greatest Penances for a Servant, who had highly misdemeaned himself, to take up that piece of Wood upon his Shoulders wherewith they supported the Thill of a Waggon, and carry it round about through the Neighbourhood; and He that had once undergone the shame of This, and was seen by Those of the Hou-

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith on the contrary, that the impious and inhuman Master had given express Orders that the wretched Slave should be punished at the

Head of the Procession, on purpose that the Ignominy might be the more notorious. This indeed is a stronger Ground for *Jupiter's* Complaint.

shold, and other Inhabitants of the Place, with that infamous Burden on his Back, had no longer any Trust or Credit among them, but was styled *Furcifer*, by way of Ignominy and Reproach; for what the *Greeks* in their Language call *Hypostates*, i. e. a Prop or Supporter, is by the *Latins* termed *Furca*, from the forked figure of that rustical Instrument.

When therefore *Latinus* had informed them of this Apparition, and All were guessing who this ill-favoured Leader should be; Some of the Company having been affected with the Strangeness of this Punishment, remembered the Slave that was lash'd through the Market, and afterwards put to Death. The Priests unanimously agreed, that This must be the thing; so the Master had a heavy Fine laid upon him, and they begun (1) the Games a-new with more Magnificence, and with the utmost Devotion.

Hence

(1) They were the *Roman* grand Games, called likewise the *Circensian*. It may not be unacceptable to the Reader to receive here some Account of that Solemnity. *A. Posthumius* the Dictator had made a Vow of these Games during the Engagement with the *Latins* near the Lake of *Regillus*. The chief Magistrates descended from the Capitol, and march'd in Procession through the *Roman Forum* to the grand *Circus*. They were preceded by all the Youth of the City, the Knights Sons on Horseback, the Rest on Foot, All marching in Order. They were followed by Those who drove their Chariots with four Horses, and Others with Two; as likewise by Those whom the *Greeks* call *Celetes*, that is such as ride your Saddle Horses. This Body was followed by the Wrest-

lers, who were naked to the Waste. After These came the Dancers divided into three Companies or Chorus's. The First consisted of Men grown, the Second of the Youth, and the Third of the Children. They were followed by the Flutenists, and Such as performed on other Musical Instruments. The Dancers Habit was a purple Tunic with an Iron Waist-belt, from which their Sword hung. They carried a small Javelin in their Hand, and the Men wore each a Head-piece with a Plume on the Top. Every Chorus had a Person at the Head, who led and regulated the Dance which was entirely martial. After these Dancers and Musicians came other Chorus's of Satyrs, who danced a Dance very much resembling That which the *Greeks* called Σιρίννις, which

Hence it appears that (1) *Numa* was both in other respects a wise Author of what belongs to religious Offices, and that this in particular was an excellent Institution of his, to make the People attentive to them; for when the Magistrates or Priests perform any Divine Worship, a Crier goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc Age*; which signifies, *Mind what you are about*; and so warns them carefully to attend to whatever sacred Action they are engaged in, and not to suffer any other Business or worldly Avocation to intervene and disturb the Exercise, (2) well knowing that most of Mens Actions, especially Those that relate to the

which was likewise Martial. Those who represented the *Sileni* wore Skin Tunics, and They who personated the real Satyrs were cloathed in Goats Skins, and wore on their Heads Crests of Hair. This Band of Satyrs derided the Movements of the Dancers by their mimick and ridiculous Imitation of them. These were followed by another Troop of Musicians, as They were by Persons bearing the Boxes of Incense, Some of Gold, and Others of Silver; and the whole Calvacade was closed with the Shrines and Statues of the Gods. When the Procession was over, the Priests and Consuls offered their Sacrifices, after which the Lifts were open for the Chariot Courses and Wrestlers, and during the Combat they crowned their Benefactors, and exposed their Spoils taken in War. It appears by this Description that all their Ceremonies were borrowed from the *Greeks*; and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* brings This as an incontestable Proof that the *Romans* were of *Greek* Original, and not descended from the *Barbarians*.

(1) *Plutarch* with good Reason relates here *Numa's* Institution, to make it appear that this Accident of the Slave proceeded from a Want of due Attention, and Observance of that Institution; for if it had been exactly observed and followed, they would never have suffered the Slave to have been lashed at the Head of the Procession, but would have delivered him out of the Hands of the Executioners, to the end nothing foreign to the Ceremony might have broke in upon the Festival.

(2) This Passage is something obscure in the Original, and has been misunderstood by the Interpreters. The *Latin* Translator renders it *Quod pleraque mortalium coactu quodammodo, & vi efficiantur. That most Mens Actions are the Effect of Force.* Whereas *Plutarch's* Meaning is, that Men are apt to grow cool and careless in their Religious Performances, if they are not quickened by Necessity, and compelled by Force to a Perseverance.

Worship of the Gods, are not perform'd without a sort of Violence and Constraint, and that every Thing belonging thereto would relax unless supported by Necessity.

Now it was customary for the *Romans* to begin afresh their Sacrifices, Processions and Spectacles, not only on such an important Cause as This, but for the most frivolous Reasons; as when one of the Horses which drew the Chariots called (1) *Tensæ*, in which the Images of their Gods were placed, happened to stumble, or if the Coachman took hold of the Reins with his left Hand, they passed a Vote that the whole Office should begin anew; and in the latter Ages one and the same Sacrifice was performed thirty times over, because there seemed always to be some Defect, or Mistake, or offensive Accident in it. So great was the Reverence which the *Romans* paid to the Deity.

In the mean time *Marcius* and *Tullus* laid their Project before the chief Men of *Antium*, advising

(1) These *Tensæ* were generally of Silver, and sometimes of Ivory. They were shaped like an open Chariot. In these were born the Statues of their Gods, and all their superstitious Reliques and Trumpery, which they called *Exuvias*, Spoils. They were so large that Persons were often placed in them; and *Varro* paid dearly for it in the End, when in the Celebration of these Games he placed in *Jupiter's* Car a most beautiful Youth to guard or hold his Spoils. For *Juno*, who was afraid lest *Jupiter* should make a second *Ganymede* of the Youth, was so incensed at it, that she made *Varro* lose the Battel at *Cannæ*. This is what *Lactantius* with just Reason ridicules in his 11th Book of *The*

Root of Error. In Times of the greatest Danger, saith he, these false Gods, who can do nothing for their Votaries, pretend as a Reason for it that they are offended at something very childish and silly. Sicut *Juno Varroni quod formosum Puerum in Tensæ Jovis ad Exuvias tenendas collocâret, & ob hanc Causam Romanum nomen apud Cannas penè deletum est.* Just as *Juno* was offended at *Varro* for having placed a beautiful Youth in *Jupiter's* Car to take care of his Spoils, which was the Reason that the Roman Name had like to have been extinct in the Battel at *Cannæ*. I have reported this Passage at length, to rescue it from the false Criticisms of Some who have spared no Pains to wrest it to wrong Purposes.

them

them to invade the *Romans* while they were at Variance among themselves, and embroil'd in Civil Contests and Dissentions. (1) The Respects of Shame and Decency hinder'd them at first from embracing the Motion, because they had agreed and sworn to a Truce and Cessation of Arms for the space of two Years; but the *Romans* themselves soon furnished them with a Pretence, by making Proclamation (out of an ill-grounded Jealousy and slanderous Report) in the midst of their Shows and Exercises, that all the *Volscians* who came thither to see them, should depart the City before Sun-set. (2) There are Some who affirm that all this was a Contrivance and Trick of *Marcus*, who sent one privately to the Consuls falsely to accuse the *Volscians*, as if they intended to fall upon the *Romans* during their publick Sports, and fire the City. This Affront provoked all that Nation to greater Hostility than ever against the *Romans*. *Tullus* aggravated the Fact, and so exasperated

(1) The *Volscians* were not so punctilious, and *Tullus* without any Scruple of Conscience was prepared immediately to march to Rome at the Head of his Forces; but *Coriolanus* represented to him that he could not safely do it without a just Cause, forasmuch as the Gods were Witnesses of all human Actions, particularly of Those relating to War, which are of much more Importance than any Others. You have, saith he, concluded a Truce with the *Romans* for two Years, if You are the first to break it you must not expect to have the Gods on your Side; you must therefore wait 'till it is violated by Them. So far it is very well: but this Man, who was so full of his Religion, found out a Means of making the *Romans* fall

into the Snare, and force Them to be the first Aggressors. As if God was to be mocked, and was not as much an Enemy to Fraud and Treachery, as he is to Violence and Injustice. But This is the common way of Reasoning among Men, especially among Politicians. They think outward Appearances sufficient for the Deity.

(2) Among These are *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and *Livy*. The First of These tells it us in express Terms, and the Other insinuates the very same Thing. But *Plutarch* was not for following a Tradition that reflected so much on his Hero. He thought it sufficient to give a slight Hint, without vouching for the Truth of it.

the People, (1) that at last he persuaded them to dispatch Ambassadors to *Rome*, to demand that part of their Country, and those Towns, that had been taken from them in the late War. The *Romans* received this Message with Indignation, and reply'd, *That if the Volsci took up Arms first, the Romans should be the last that would lay them down.* Upon This, *Tullus* called a General Assembly of the *Volscian* States, where the Vote passing for War, he advised them to send for *Marcius*, laying aside all former Grudges, and assuring themselves that the Service they should now receive from him, as an Ally, would exceed the Damage he had done them when their Enemy. *Marcius* was called, and having made an Oration to the People, it appeared he knew how to (2) speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in Prudence as well as Courage. So he was immediately joined in Commission with *Tullus*. *Marcius* fearing lest the time requisite for the *Volscian* Preparations might make him lose the Opportunity of Action, left Orders with the chief Men and Governors of the City to assemble the Troops, and provide the other Necessaries, while Himself prevailed upon Some of the most brisk and forward to march out with him as Volunteers, without staying to be enroll'd, and made a sudden Incurfion into the *Roman* Territories, when no Body expected them, and got there such plenty of Plunder that the *Volsci* were tired with dragging and carrying it off, and could not

(1) It was not *Tullus* but *Coriolanus* who gave this Advice. The Demand was of a very malicious Tendency; for either the *Romans* must refuse to comply with it, and so inevitably involve themselves in a War; or if they comply'd, all their Neighbours, the *Æqui*, the *Albans*, Those of *Hetruria*, and many Others, would put in the same Demands, and thereby drive the *Romans* to the very Brink of Ruin.

(2) He made a long Speech in the Assembly, which the Reader may find at large in the viiith Book of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and which justifies the Character *Plutarch* gives of him in this Place.

consume it all in their Camp. But the abundance of Provision which he gained, and the waste and havock which he made of the Country, were in his account the smallest things in that Invasion. What he chiefly intended by it, and for the sake whereof he did all the rest, was to increase the Peoples Suspicions against the Nobles. To which end, in spoiling all the Fields, and destroying the Goods of other Men, he took particular Care to preserve their Lands, and would not allow his Soldiers to ravage there, or seize any thing which belonged to them; from whence their Invectives and Quarrels with one another grew higher than ever. The Senators reproached the Commonalty for unjustly banishing so considerable a Person; and the People on the other hand accusing Them of bringing *Coriolanus* upon them, to the end that whilst They felt all the Calamities of War, had their Houses burnt, and Estates plundered, the Nobility might sit like unconcerned Spectators under the Confidence and Assurance, that the War it self would be the Guardian of Their Lands and Substance. After this Expedition, which was of singular Advantage to the *Volsci*, in teaching them Courage, and Contempt of the Enemy, *Marcus* led them safe home, without the loss of a Man. But when the whole Strength of the *Volsicians* was with great Expedition and Alacrity brought together into the Field, it appeared so considerable a Body, that they agreed to leave part thereof in Garrison for the Security of their Towns, and with the Remainder to march against the *Romans*: *Coriolanus* then desired *Tullus* to consider, which of the two Charges would be most agreeable to him, and that he would chuse accordingly; to which *Tullus* made answer, *That since he knew Marcus to be equally valliant with himself, but far more fortunate in all Engagements,* (1) *he*

(1) *he would have Him take the Command of Those that were going out to the War, while He made it his Care and Business to defend their Cities at home, and provide all Conveniences for the Army abroad.* Marcius therefore being thus reinforced, and much stronger than before, moved first towards the City called *Circeum*, a Roman Colony; which surrendering at Discretion (2) was secured from Plunder. And passing thence, he entered and laid waste the Country of the *Latins*, where it was expected the *Romans* would have come in to their assistance, and fought against him in behalf of the *Latins*, who were their Confederates and Allies, and had often sent to demand Succours from them; but because as well the People on Their part shewed little inclination for the Service, and the *Consuls* Themselves were unwilling now to run the hazard of a Battel, when the time of their Office drew so near its end, and was almost ready to expire, they dismissed the *Latin* Ambassadors without any Effect: So that *Marcus* finding no Army to oppose him, marched up to the very Cities themselves, and having taken by Assault *Tolerium*, *Labicum*, *Pedum*, and *Bola*, whose Inhabitants had the Courage to make some Resistance, he not only plundered their Houses, but made a Prey likewise of their Persons. At the same time he had a particular regard for All as such came over to his Party; and was so tender of them, that for fear they might sustain any damage against his Will,

(1) There were other Reasons that induced *Tullus* to yield to *Coriolanus* the Command of the Army that was to march against the *Romans*, of which One was purely political. It would have been a great Weakness in *Tullus* to have left *Coriolanus* at the Head of an Army in the Bowels of his Country, whilst he was marching at the Head of Another against *Rome*. If in That Case there should have happened a good Understanding between *Coriolanus* and the *Roman* the Consequence might have been fatal.

(2) He only obliged the Inhabitants to furnish Clothes for his Army, to supply him with Provisions for one Month, and raise him a Sum of Money. This City stood on the Confines of the *Volscians*.

Βοίλλαι.
Dion.

he encamped still at the greatest distance he could, and wholly abstained from the Lands of their Propriety. After This he went and sat down before *Boillæ*, which was distant about twelve Miles from *Rome*, where he met with a more vigorous Opposition than he had done before, and where many of the *Volscians* were slain; however he took it in the end, put all to the Sword that were of Age to carry Arms, and got much Plunder. The other *Volscians* that were ordered to stay behind as a Safe-guard to their Cities, hearing of his Atchievements and Success, had not the patience to remain any longer at home, but came running with their Arms to *Marcus*, and saying, *That He alone was their General, and the sole Person they would own as a Commander in chief over them.* Upon which he had a mighty Name, and the Renown of him spread throughout all *Italy*, with a marvellous Opinion of his singular Prowess; who, by changing Sides, had Himself alone given that sudden turn to the Affairs of two Nations, and made such a strange and notable Alteration in the state of things.

All was at *Rome* now in very great disorder, for they were utterly averse from Fighting, and spent their whole time in Cabals, and Conspiracies, seditious Words, and perpetual Bandyings against each other; until News was brought that the Enemy had laid close Siege to *Lavinium*, wherein were the Gods of their Fathers, and from whence they did derive their Original, That being the first City which *Aeneas* built in *Italy*. The News of this Siege being soon spread over the whole City, produced a strange and sudden turn of mind among the People, but a very absurd and unexpected Change among the Patricians. For the former urged a repeal of the Sentence against *Marcus*, and were for recalling him home; whereas the Senate, being assembled to deliberate and resolve upon that point, did finally dislike and oppose the Proposition; (1) either

(1) either out of a cross Humour, to contradict and withstand the People in whatsoever they should move, or because they were unwilling perhaps, that he should owe his Restoration to their Kindness; or having now conceived a displeasure against *Marcius* himself, who did harrafs and plague them All alike, though he had not been ill treated by All, and was become a declared Enemy to his whole Country, though he knew well enough that the principal Men, and all the better sort, did condole with him, and suffer in his Injuries.

This Resolution of Theirs being made publick, the People was utterly at a loss, and could proceed no further, as having no Authority to pass any thing by Suffrage, and enact it for a Law, without a previous Decree from the Senate. But when *Marcius* came to hear of that Vote for prohibiting his Return, he was more exasperated than ever, insomuch that (2) quitting the Siege of *Lavinium*, he marched furiously towards *Rome*, and encamped at a place called *Fossa Clælia*, about five miles from the City: but as the nearness of his Approach was terrible, and did create much trouble and disturbance, so likewise did it surcease their Animosities and Dissentions for the present; for nobody now, whether Consul or Senator, durst any longer contradict the People in their design of recalling *Marcius*; but seeing the Women run frightened up and down the Streets, and the old Men at

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* confesseth he is at a loss to find out what it was that made the Senate oppose the recalling of *Coriolanus*, and makes three Conjectures for it. The First was to try if the People were steddy in that Resolution; the Second, that by seeming to oppose it, they might make Them the more earnest for it; and the Third, that it would be a means to remove from the People the Suspicion they had entertained that the *Patricians* had excited *Coriolanus* to arm the *Volscians* against *Rome*.

(2) He did not raise the Siege. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* writes that he left a Body of his Troops there to continue the Blockade.

Prayers in every Temple with Tears and earnest Supplications; and that, in short, there was a general defect among them both of Courage and Wisdom, to provide for their own Safety, they came at last to be all of one Mind, that the People had been very much in the right, to propose and endeavour, as they did, a Reconciliation with *Marcus*; but that the Senate was extreamly out, and guilty of a fatal Error, then to begin a Quarrel with and provoke *Marcus*, when it was a time to forget Offences, and they should have studied rather to appease him. It was therefore unanimously agreed by all Parties, that Ambassadors should be dispatched away, (1) offering to recall him, and desiring he would free them from the Apprehensions and the Straits of that War. The Persons sent by the Senate with this Message, were chosen out of his Kindred and Acquaintance, who did therefore expect a very kind Reception at their first Interview and Audience, upon the score of that Relation, and their Familiarity and Friendship with him; but it prov'd quite otherwise; for being led through the Enemy's Camp, they found him sitting in Council amidst a crowd of Officers: with insupportable Arrogance, and sullen Gravity, he bid them openly declare, in the Presence of the *Volscians*, the Cause of their coming; (2) which they did in the most modest and humble terms, and with a Behaviour sui-

(1) This is the proper Sense of their Territories.

Plutarch's Words, ἐκέλευε τὴν καὶ θεοῦ διδόντας, for a Decree had not yet past for his Repeal. The Ambassadors made him an Offer of it; and told him that the Senate were well inclin'd to it; but that it was not consistent with the Majesty of *Rome* to pass such a Decree in his Favour whilst he was at the Head of an Army ravaging

(2) *Minucius*, who during his Consulship had been the most zealous Stickler for *Coriolanus*, was the Person that spoke. His Speech is to be found in the 8th Book of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. It is exceeding fine, and one wou'd have thought *Plutarch* might have given us the Substance of it in this Place.

table to the Occasion. When they had made an end of speaking, he returned them a sharp Answer, full of Bitterness and angry Resentments, as to what concerned Himself, and the ill Usage he had received from them; but as General of the *Volscians*, he demanded *Restitution of the Cities and the Lands they had taken from them during the late War, and that the same Rights and Franchises should be granted Them at Rome, which they had before accorded to the Latins; without which just and reasonable Conditions, no Peace was to be obtained.* He allowed them thirty days to consider of his Demands; and when they were retired, he raised his Camp, and departed out of the *Roman Territories*. This Proceeding gave Some of the *Volscians*, who had long envied his Reputation, and could not endure to see the Interest and Sway he had with that People, the first handle to calumniate and reproach him. Among his chief Maligners was even *Tullus* Himself, not for any personal Offence or private Injury, but out of human Passion, and a Vice so incident to Mankind: he felt an inward Pique, to find his own Glory thus totally obscur'd by That of *Marcus*, and Himself overlook'd and neglected now by the *Volscians*, who had so great an Opinion and Esteem of their new Leader, that He alone was instead of All to them, and they would have other Captains be content with that share of Government and Power which He should think fit to vouchsafe them. From hence the first Seeds of Complaint and Accusation were scattered about in secret, and the Heads of that Conspiracy assembling together, did help to raise and heighten each other's Indignation, saying, that to retreat as he did, was in effect to betray and deliver up, though not their Cities and their Arms, yet the proper Times and Opportunities for Action, which is a damage of no smaller consequence than the Other; inasmuch as

the Preservation or the Loss of all These, and every thing else, does naturally depend on Them; seeing in less than thirty days space, for which he had given a respite from the War, there might happen the greatest changes in the World. However, *Marcus* spent not any part of the time idly, (1) but did attack and damnify the Confederates of the Enemy, yea, and took from them seven great and populous Cities in that Interval. The *Romans* in the mean-while durst not venture out to their relief; their Spirits were grown dull and unactive thro' Fear, so that they felt no more Disposition or Capacity for the Affairs of War, than if their Bodies too had been struck and benumb'd with a dead Palfie, and so become utterly destitute of Sense and Motion. When the thirty Days were expired, and *Marcus* appeared again with his whole Army, they sent another Embassy, to beseech him that he would moderate his Displeasure, and marching off with the *Volscians*, consider what was fit to be done, and propose That which he judged most agreeable to the Interest of both Parties, remembering always that the *Romans* were not Men to be wrought upon by Menaces, or that would yield any thing out of Fear; but if it were his Opinion, that the *Volscians* ought to have some Favour shewn them, upon laying down their Arms, they might obtain All they could in reason desire, and fairly pretend to.

The Reply of *Marcus* was, That he should answer nothing thereto as General of the *Volscians*, but in quality still of a *Roman* Citizen, he would

(1) He had two Views in This: the First was to take from the Allies the means of assisting the *Romans*; and the Second to skreen Himself from the Suspicions mentioned by *Plutarch*, and which he foresaw he should lie under. In truth the Space of a Month was a pretty long Respite, and gave the *Volscians* a very just Pretence to accuse *Coriolanus* of favouring the *Romans* at Their Cost and Prejudice.

advise and exhort them, as the case stood, not to carry it so high, but think rather of a just Compliance, and return to him before three days were at an end, with a Ratification of those equal Demands he had formerly made, and did insist upon; for otherwise they should not have the same freedom and security of passing through his Camp again upon such idle Errands, and impertinent and fruitless Treaties. When the Ambassadors were come back, and had acquainted the Senate with this resolute Answer, seeing the whole State now threatned as it were by a Tempest, and the Waves ready to overwhelm them, they were forced, as we say, in extream Perils, to handle and let down the Sacred Anchor; for there was a Decree made, that the whole Order of their *Priests*, with such as did initiate in *Mysteries*, or had the Care and Custody of *Holy Things*, or the Skill of *Prophefying* by Birds, (an antient way of *Divination* among the *Romans*) should All and every one of them go in full Procession to *Marcus* with their Pontifical Array, and the same Dress and Habit which they respectively us'd in their several Functions or Religious Ceremonies; which venerable Orators were to bespeak him as before, and recommend the former Request; that upon Their instance at least, he would be persuaded to surcease the War, and then confer with his Countrymen upon the Articles of Peace. He admitted them into his Camp, but granted nothing at all out of Respect and Complaisance for them, nor did he so much as behave or express himself with more civility or smoothness upon their account; but without capitulating further, or receding from his main point, bid them *once for all chuse whether they would yield or fight, for the Old terms were the Only terms of Peace*. When there was no better effect of such a solemn Application, (the *Priests* too returning unsuccessful) they determined

to sit still within their City, and keep watch about the Walls; intending only to repulse the Enemy, should he offer to attack them, and placing their Hopes chiefly in the strange and extraordinary Accidents of Time and Fortune. For as to Themselves, they had neither the Wit to contrive, nor the Courage to undertake ought for their own deliverance; but Confusion, and Terror, and ill-boding Reports run through the whole City. During these Transactions, Something happen'd not unlike what we so often meet with (1) in *Homer*, (which however most People will hardly believe) for when he upon great occasions, and some rare and unusual Events, does affirm and exclaim in this manner,

Pallas, the blue-ey'd Goddess, then inspir'd him——

And again,
*I thought; but some kind God that Thought suppress'd,
Presenting vulgar Rumours to my Breast.*

And thus,
Whether his own Free-will, or Fate's decree.

Ignorant Men are ready here to despise and censure the Poet, as if he destroyed the freedom of Choice, and subjected Men's Reason to such Impossibilities, and absurd Fictions. Whereas *Homer* doth nothing like it; for what is probable, and usual, and brought about by the ordinary way of Reason, he attributes to our own power, and management, and frequently says to this effect,

But I consulted with my own great Soul.

(1) *Plutarch* proves here a Truth not to be deny'd, and which *Homer* knew very well, which is, that sometimes Men are inspir'd by God, and are push'd on by some divine Impulse to Enterprizes, which they shou'd never have undertaken without such Inspiration.
And

And in another place,
*Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress'd,
 His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast,
 Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,
 Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd.*

And again,
 ————— *But she in vain*
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble Youth
Was arm'd with Wisdom, Constancy, and Truth.

But in such things and actions as are unaccountably daring, and of a prodigious and transcendent kind, and therefore need some touches of *Enthusiasm* and *Divine Hardiness*, that may investigate and carry us thereto: (1) Here, I say, he does introduce God, not as taking away the liberty of our Will, but as moving it to act freely; neither as working in us the Inclinations and Pursuits themselves, but as offering those *Ideas* and *Objects* to our Minds, from whence the Impulse is conceiv'd, and the Resolution taken; by which Representments however, he makes not the Deed involuntary, but only gives a beginning to spontaneous Operations, and superadds Confidence and good Hope to what is thus willingly undertaken: For we must either totally discharge and remove God from all manner of Causality as to what we do, and a prime original Influence on our Affairs, or be forced to confess that there is no other way of Insinuation besides This whereby he does secretly assist Men, and co-operate with them; (2) for sure the help which

(1) *Plutarch's* reasoning here is very remarkable, it agrees perfectly well with Man's free Will, and God's Assistance and Co-operation. What he saith on this Occasion, is sound Divinity.

(2) *Plutarch* is mistaken when

he thinks that God operates only on the Mind, and has no share in the Actions or Motions of the Body. This Opinion is contradicted by a Thousand Instances, which we meet with in the Old and New Testament.

he

he affords us, cannot be imagined to consist in fashioning the Postures of our Body, or directing the Motions of our Hands and Feet, so as they may be serviceable to us for the use of Life, but in exciting the practical part, and the elective powers of our Soul by initial Overtures, and certain Images and Instincts from Above; or else, on the contrary, in a sudden aversion or seasonable restraint of them from other things, and That also by hints and apprehensions of His sending.

Now in this perplexity of Affairs, which I before mentioned, the *Roman* Women went Some of them to other Temples, but the greater part, and the Ladies of best Quality, were performing their Devotion about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*: Among These was *Valeria*, Sister to the great *Publicola*, a Person who had done the *Romans* that eminent Service both in Peace and War: *Publicola* himself was now deceas'd, (as I have written in the History of his Life) but *Valeria* liv'd still with a mighty Reputation and Esteem at *Rome*, as One whose Birth received an additional Lustre from her Virtue. She therefore being suddenly seiz'd with an Instinct or emotion of Mind, not unlike Those I but now spoke of, and happily lighting (not without Divine Guidance) on the right Expedient, both arose Herself, and caus'd the rest of the Votaries to get up, and made directly with them toward the House of *Volumnia*, the Mother of *Marcus*: When she came in, and found her sitting with her Daughter-in-Law, and having her little Grand-children on her Lap, *Valeria*, surrounded by her Female Companions, spoke in the name of them All to this purpose.

We that now make our appearance, O Volumnia, and Vergilia, approach as Women unto Women; being come hither not by direction of the Senate, or an order from the Consuls, or the appointment of any other Magistrate;

gistrate; but God himself, as I conceive, moved first to compassion by our Prayers, has consequently moved Us to visit you in a Body, and request a thing wherein our Own and the common Safety is concerned, and which, if You consent to it, will raise your Glory above That of the Daughters of the Sabines, who rushing thro' the Battel in Defiance of Death, did reduce their Fathers and their Husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship. Come along then, and join with us in our supplication to Marcius, and do your Country the right of giving him this true and just testimony on her behalf; that notwithstanding the many mischiefs and calamities she has suffered, yet she did never outrage Your Persons, nor could so much as think of treating You ill, in the midst of all her Resentments, but does now restore and present You safe into his hands, though there is small likelihood she should obtain from Him any better terms for Her self, or the least favourable and gentle usage on that account.

This Discourse of *Valeria* was seconded by loud Approbations and Incentives of the other Women; to which *Volumnia* made answer.

Besides the common Calamities of our Country, in which we bear an equal share with You, we are touched with domestick Afflictions, which are peculiar to Ourselves; for with our own Eyes have we beheld the Downfall of our *Coriolanus's* Fame and Virtue, (1) since he is at present surrounded by the Arms of the Enemies of his

(1) This Passage had been misunderstood by the Interpreters: the Latin Translation renders it, *Corpus quidem ejus contemplamur hostium Armis custodiri, potius quam conservari*. He is rather secured than protected by the Arms of the Enemy. This Mistake is very material if we consider only the Terms, but it is much more so, if we consider the Sense it carries with it. If *Volumnia* had said the

Volsians watch'd *Coriolanus* not out of any Respect to him, but to have his Person in their Power; the Roman Affairs wou'd not have been in so deplorable a Condition, there would have been hopes of gaining him; but *Plutarch* saith quite otherwise, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτῷ τοῖς τ' πολέμιων ὅπλοις φερέμενον μᾶλλον ἢ σωζόμενον ἐφορᾶσαι. The Word φερέμενον signifies a Guard attending

his Country, not as their Prisoner but Commauder. Add to This, the greatest, and most sensible of all our Miseries, if the Affairs of Rome are in so low and desperate a Condition, as to have its last Dependance on two weak insignificant Women. For how can We hope he will shew any Respect to Us, when he has lost all the Regard due to his Country, which was once dearer to him than his Mother, his Wife, his Children. But make what use of us you please, and lead us to Coriolanus. Should he be deaf to our Prayers, we can at least die for our Country, which we have not Interest enough in Him to redeem, and spend our latest Breath in making Suit at his Feet for its Deliverance.

Having spoken thus, (1) she took *Vergilia* by the Hand, and the young Children, and so accompanied those other Ladies to the *Volscian* Camp. So lamentable a Sight did very much affect the Enemies Themselves, and create in them a respectful Silence. *Marcus* was then seated on a Tribunal, with his chief Officers about him, and seeing that Female Party advance toward them, he wondered what should be the matter; but came to perceive at length that his own Wife *Vergilia* was at the Head of their Company; whereupon he en-

a Person out of Respect to him, and *σώζομενον*, a Guard clapt upon him to prevent his Escape. This disconsolate Mother would have been better pleas'd to see her Son in the Hands of the Enemy as a Prisoner than at their Head as Commauder.

(1) This was not done in an Instant; the Design was first communicated to the Consuls, and the Consuls summon'd the Senate to consider if the Ladies should be allowed to leave the City. The Debate held for many Hours, and the Votes at first were pretty equal, several of the Senators representing

how dangerous it would be to trust their Wives and Children in the Camp of the Enemy, where probably they might be detain'd Prisoners. At last the Majority was for it; it being urg'd that *Coriolanus* was incapable of suffering the least Outrage to be committed upon the Persons of Women, who were come to wait on him under the divine Protection. The Debate held 'till Night, when the Decree past, and the Ladies set out the next Morning as soon as it was light, having Chariots provided for 'em by the Consuls for that purpose.

deavoured

deavoured to harden himself in his former Obstina-
 cy, and would fain have kept up the same inexo-
 rable Stifness against all entreaties ; but overcome
 by Affection, and strangely disorder'd at such an
 Appearance, he could not endure they should ap-
 proach him sitting in that stately Posture, but came
 down hastily to meet them, saluting his Mother
 first, and embracing her a long time, and then his
 Wife and Children, sparing neither Tears nor Ca-
 resses on this occasion, but suffering himself to be
 born away, and carried headlong, as it were, by
 the impetuous Torrent and the pleasing Violence
 of his present Passion. When he had taken his
 fill of these Sweetnesses and Indearments, and ob-
 serv'd that his Mother *Volumnia* was desirous to
 say something, the *Volsian* Council being first
 called in, he heard her Discourse before them to this
 effect: (1) *You may easily conjecture, Son, though we
 should say nothing ourselves, and might conclude from
 the very form and habit of these wretched Bodies you
 behold here, in how forlorn a condition we have lived
 at home since your unhappy Banishment and Absence
 from us ; and now consider with yourself, whether we
 are not to pass for the most unfortunate of Women, and
 if Ours be not the hardest of all Cases ; seeing That
 which ought to prove the most delightful thing, and a
 very gladsome Spectacle, is, through I know not what
 Fatality, become of all Others the most formidable and
 dreadful to us, when poor Volumnia has the Displea-*

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch* have All of them made the Mother speak on this Occasion. It is not unwor-
 thy a wise Man's Curiosity to con- sider the different Ends they each of them pointed at, and nothing perhaps can be more proper to elevate the Mind and cultivate true Eloquence, than to compare the
 three different Discourses made by three of the greatest Men of An- tiquity upon the same Subject. That of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* seems to Me to be the most plain and moral; *Livy's* the most strong and violent; and *Plutarch's* the most lively, eloquent, and pathetick.

sure to see her Son, and that sad Vergilia the Regret
 to find her Husband, now planting his Batteries against
 the Walls of Rome! Yea even the business of Prayer
 itself, from whence Others do fetch Comfort and Relief
 in all manner of Misfortunes and Distresses, is That
 which adds to our Confusion, and does intangle and per-
 plex us above all the rest; for our best wishes are grown
 inconsistent with themselves, nor can we at the same
 time petition the Gods for Rome's Victory, and Your
 Preservation: What the worst of our Enemies would
 imprecate as a Curse, That is the very Subject of our
 Vows, or at least is interwoven and mingled with
 them; for your Wife and Children lie under the woful
 necessity, either of losing You, or their Native Soil.
 As for myself, I am resolv'd not to live 'till Fortune
 shall put an end to the War, and determine be-
 tween the contending Parties. If I cannot prevail
 with you to prefer Amity and Concord before Quarrel-
 ling and hostile Practices, and shall not persuade my
 Son Marcius to become a Benefactor to both Parties,
 rather than a Plague to Either, be assured of This from
 Me, and reckon stedfastly upon it, that you shall not be
 able to stir a foot towards treading down your Country,
 unless you trample first upon the dead Corps of Her
 that brought you into the World, and who will deserve
 to be so treated for having given you Life. Shall I live
 to see the day of Triumph for my Son's Overthrow,
 or Rome's Destruction? If I desired You to build the
 Safety of your Country upon the Ruins of the Volsci-
 ans; there I confess the Case would be hard, and the
 Choice difficult: for as it seems unnatural and barba-
 rous to slaughter our Fellow-Citizens, so likewise it is
 unjust and perfidious to betray Those who have placed
 their Confidence in us. But now, without doing the
 least harm to Others, we desire only a Deliverance
 from our Own Evils; and though the thing be equally
 expedient for Them and Us, yet will it look more hand-
 some and honourable on the Volscian side, who having
 so

so much the better of us at present, will be thought freely to bestow the two greatest Blessings of Peace and Friendship, even when they receive no less at Our hands than is conferred by Them. If we obtain these Blessings, the common Thanks and Acknowledgment will be chiefly owing to You, as the principal Cause of such a Reconciliation between us; but if they be not granted, You alone must expect to bear the blame from both Nations. And when the chance of all War is uncertain, This will be the certain Event of that You are engaged in; if you conquer, you will only get the Reputation of having undone your Country; if conquered, the World will say, that to satisfy a revengeful Humour, you have been the Author of the greatest Misery to your Friends and Patrons, and procured the Overthrow even of a kind and obliging People.

Marcius listened to his Mother, while she went on with her Discourse, and answer'd not a word; but Vololumnia seeing him stand mute for a long time after she had left speaking, fell again to press him: O my Son, says she, why will you not vouchsafe to answer me, or what can be the meaning of this profound Silence? Does it become you thus to comply with Passion, and yield all things to a sense of Injuries? And will you not think it fit to gratify your Mother in so worthy a Cause? Can it pass for the property of a noble Mind and a gallant Person, to preserve the memory of Affronts and ill Usage; And shall we not reckon it the Character and Business of a great and good Man to remember Benefits, and own the Obligation which Children receive from Parents, by a return of Honour and Reverence to the Authors of them? But You, above all Persons in the World, ought to shew a very grateful Resentment of the Favours which have been done you, since nobody living did ever punish Ingratitude, and persecute that Vice in Others, with so much severity as your self; and to say the truth, you have been sufficiently avenged of your Country, for requiting your Services so ill; but
the

the amends of all Mine towards you is behind still, and I wait now for the Recompence of a Mother's Care and Kindness; the most Sacred Ties both of Nature and Religion, without any other constraint, should methinks oblige you to grant me things that are so fair and equal; but if, after All, I am so unhappy as to be denied, why should I spare myself any longer, and to what purpose do I spin out my last hope? Having said this, she threw herself at his Feet, and so did his Wife and Children; upon which Marcius crying out, O Mother! what is it you have done to me, and to what am I reduced by it? rais'd her up from the Ground, and pressing her hand with more than ordinary vehemence, You have gained a Victory, says he, over me, that is fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to myself, for I am preparing to depart hence, as driven away and vanquished by You only. After which, and a little private Conference with his Mother and his Wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired of him.

The next morning he discamped and led the *Volscians* homeward, who were variously affected with what was done, nor did they All testify a like Concern at it; for Some of them did both complain of the Man, and condemn the Action; while Others, inclining to Reconciliation and a peaceable Composure of things, did blame Neither; and there was a third sort, which very much disliked his Proceedings; yet they could not look upon *Marcius* as a treacherous Person, but thought it pardonable in him to be thus shaken and broke, and forced to surrender at last, through the stress and pressure of so many violent assaults and redoubled applications; however None were so hardy as to contradict his orders, but they did all obediently follow him, mov'd rather by the admiration of his Virtue, than any Regard they had
now

now to his Authority. As for the *Roman* People, they did not so effectually discover how much Fear and Danger they were in while the War lasted, as they did by the manner of their deportment after they were freed from it; for Those that guarded the Walls had no sooner given notice that the *Volsians* were dislodged and drawn off, but they set open all their Temples in a moment, and began to crown themselves with Flowers, and prepare for Sacrifice; as they were wont to do upon Tidings brought of any signal Victory: But the Joy and Transport of the whole City became chiefly remarkable from that (1) Honour and Courtship of the Women, which was jointly paid them as well by the Senate as the Vulgar, every one declaring it his Opinion, that they were evidently the Causes and Instruments of their Publick Safety; and the Senate having pass'd a Decree, that whatsoever they would ask by way of Recompence, as a Memorial and Acknowledgment of their Fame and Merit, should be allowed and done for them by the Magistrates; they demanded nothing else but that (2) a Temple might be erected *to the Fortune of Women*, all the Expence whereof they did offer to defray out of their own Stock, if the City would be at the cost of Sacrifices, and furnish them with other things which appertain to the due Honour of the Gods, out of their common Treasury. The Senate then, very much commending the Forwardness and Bounty of their Minds, caus'd the Temple to be built, and a Statue to be set up therein at the publick Charge; nevertheless they would needs make a Purse among Themselves for a-

(1) To perpetuate the Memory of that important Service, it was decreed that an Encomium of those Ladies should be engraven on a publick Monument.

(2) It was erected on the same Place where *Coriolanus* was prevailed upon and mollified by his Mother, in the *Latine* Way, about four Miles from *Rome*.

nother Image of Fortune, which, as the *Romans* say, at the time of Dedication and placing of it, pronounced these Words, *O ye Ladies, (1) most acceptable to the Gods is your Piety and Devotion in the Present you have made of me.* And they fabulously report that the same Words were repeated a second time; endeavouring to make us believe things that were never done, and so like Impossibilities, that it is very hard to credit them. (2) For I think it possible enough, that Statues may both Sweat and run with Tears, yea, and discharge certain dewy drops of a sanguine Dye; for Timber and Stones are frequently seen to contract a kind of Scurf and Rottenness, that produce moisture; and they do not only send forth many different Colours of Themselves, but receive variety of Tinctures from the ambient Air: (3) by which it is not absurd to imagine that the Deity may advertise and forewarn us of what is to come. It may happen also, that these Images and Statues shall sometimes make a noise not unlike That of a Sigh or Groan, through a rupture at the bottom, or the violent separation of their inward Parts; but that an articulate Voice, and express Words, should be thus

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* assures us of This, upon having read it in the Books or Legends of the Priests, and is so firmly persuaded of the Truth of the Miracle, that he presseth it as a Motive to confirm the Virtuous, and convert the Libertine. *Plutarch* is not so credulous. He tells us it was fore-reported by the *Romans*, and at the same time exposeth the Folly of that Report.

(2) How many times have whole Nations been frightened almost to Death when the Statues of their Gods have emitted never so little

Moisture, let fall a Tear, or a few Drops of Blood? Whereas there is nothing more natural, or that has less of a Miracle in it, as *Plutarch* has very well explained it. The Same may be said of Showers of Blood, and an infinite Number of other *Phænomena*, which terrify the Ignorant and Superstitious.

(3) For tho' God makes use of natural Causes, yet he may destine their Effects to some certain Ends and Purposes; That is most true. But then, who shall explain those Signs, and by what Rules is it to be done?

formed

formed by inanimate Beings, is, in my judgment, a thing utterly unfeasible; seeing it was never known, that either the Soul of Man, or even God Himself, did utter vocal Sounds, and discourse alone, without (1) an organized Body and Parts fitted for Utterance. But where History does in a manner force our Assent by the Concurrence of many credible Witneses, in this Case we are to conclude, that an Impression not unlike That which does affect Sense, falling then upon the Fancy, draws in the Imaginative Part to comply therewith, and take it for a true Sensation: just as it happens to us when we are fast asleep, our Eyes and Ears seem to be entertained with those things which we neither See nor Hear. As for those Persons, who out of good-will towards God, and their friendly Inclination for him, and a great Tendernefs as to all religious Matters, are so over-fond and passionate herein, that they cannot easily persuade themselves to despise or reject any thing of this kind, they have the admirable Efficiency of Divine Power (which surpasses our Comprehension) as a mighty Motive and Support to the belief thereof. For God has no manner of

(1) If this Doctrine were true, the *Platonicks* would conclude from hence, that God never made his Voice known unto Man, because, according to Their Principles, he cannot corporise, or cloath himself in a Body. But This is a gross Error: for it is certain that God can assume a Body without debasing the Majesty of his divine Nature, and can speak to Man without it. For all Nature must obey the God of Nature. It is as easy for the supreme Being to form an articulate Voice, as any other Sound. He may likewise make himself understood by striking with his

Light the intellectual Part of the Soul, and making the same Impression on it, as a Voice does, which strikes it when it has pass'd through the Organs of the Body; and it is this sort of Voice which is so admirably described by *Hommer*, when speaking of the Dream sent to *Agamemnon*, he saith *the Divine Voice was spread, or diffus'd around him*. But *Plutarch* presently renounces his own Principle, and being thoroughly convinced from a Contemplation of God's Omnipotence, he returns to Truth and Reason.

Resemblance, either as to his Nature, Operations, or Efficacy, with what is human, and therefore it is no wonder at all if he should devise and perform That, which cannot be contrived or accomplished by any Mortal ; and though he differs from, and does infinitely excel us in all things else, yet the dissimilitude and distance betwixt Him and Men, appears no where so much, as in the Prodigiousness of his Working, and the strange Effects of his Omnipotence ; however a considerable part of the Divine Operations (as *Heraclitus* affirms) *passeth by unobserved, and escapes our Knowledge, because we are Infidels in the Point, and have not Faith enough to believe them.*

Upon the Return of *Marcus* with the Army to *Antium*, *Tullus* (who perfectly hated him, and could no longer endure a Man of whom by reason of his Authority he was so much afraid) resolved to dispatch him, well knowing that if he omitted the present Opportunity, he never should have such another Advantage over him for that Purpose. Having therefore suborned several to appear against him, he required *Marcus* to resign his Charge, and give the *Volscians* an account of his Administration. *Marcus* apprehending the danger of a private Condition, if *Tullus* should be made Commander in Chief, and thereby obtain the greatest Power and Interest with Those of *Antium*, made Answer, That he was ready to lay down his Commission, whenever the *Volscian* States, from whose common Authority he had received it, should think fit to command him ; and that in the mean time he did not refuse to give the *Antiates* Satisfaction, as to all the particulars of his Conduct, if they were desirous of it.

An Assembly then being called, there arose certain Orators, appointed for that Design, who by their popular Harangues did exasperate and incense the

the Multitude ; but when *Marcius* stood up to answer those Objections and Impeachments they had brought against him, the more unruly and tumultuous part of the People waxed calm and quiet on the sudden, and out of Reverence to his Person, gave him liberty to speak without the least disturbance ; besides that all the better sort of *Antium*, and Such as were most delighted with the Peace, made it evident by their whole Composure, that they would give him a favourable Hearing, and then judge and pronounce according to Equity.

Tullus therefore began to dread his Apology, and suspect the Issue of that Defence he was going to make for Himself ; for he was an excellent O-
rator ; and the former Services he had done the *Volscians*, did procure and still preserve for him a much greater Kindness, than could possibly be outweighed by that new Displeasure, and the Blame of his late Conduct : nay the very Crime and Accusation itself, was a Proof and Testimony of the greatness of his Merits ; for that People could never have complained or thought that he had been injurious to them, because *Rome* was not then brought into their Power, without a plain Confession, that by His means only they were so near taking it. For these Reasons the Conspirators judged it prudent not to make any further Delays, or Attempts upon the Vulgar, and so the boldest of their Faction crying out, that they ought not to listen to a Traytor, nor allow him still to bear Rule, and play the Tyrant among them, fell upon *Marcius* in a Body, and slew him there, none of those that were present so much as offering to defend him. But it quickly appear'd, that this base and unworthy Action was in no wise approved by the Majority of the *Volscians*, for they came running out of their several Cities, to shew Respect

unto his Corps, which they did by (1) an honourable Interment of it, adorning his Sepulchre with Arms and Trophies, as the Monument of a noble Hero and a famous General. (2) When the *Romans* heard tidings of his death, they gave no other signification either of Honour or of Anger towards him, but only granted this Request of the Women, that they might put themselves into Mourning, and bewail him for ten Months, as their Custom was upon the loss of a Father, Son, or Brother; That being a period set for the longest Lamentation in such Cases, by the antient Laws of *Numa Pompilius*, as it is more amply related in what I have written of his Life and Actions. Now *Marcus* was no sooner deceased, but the *Volscians* came to need his Assistance, and with for him again; for they fell to squabble first with the *Æqui*, (their Confederates and their Friends) about the Nomination of a

(1) They dress'd him in his Robes of General, laid his Corps on a magnificent Bier, which was born on the Shoulders of such young Officers, who were particularly distinguish'd for their martial Exploits. Before him were born the Spoils he had obtain'd from the Enemy, the Crowns he had won, and Plans of the Cities he had taken. In this Order was he laid on the Pile, while several Victims were slain in Honour to his Memory. When the Pile was consumed, they gathered up his Ashes, which they interred on the Spot, and erected a magnificent Monument over it. *Coriolanus* was slain in the second Year of the seventy-third *Olympiad*, in the two hundred and sixty-sixth Year of *Rome*, and eight Years after his first Campaign. He fell therefore in the Flower of his Age, if it be true what *Plutarch* saith, that he

made his first Campaign when he was very young. But This is subject to a great many strong Objections, and I cannot but think that neither *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, nor *Livy*, had any exact authentick Accounts of the time when *Coriolanus* was born, and at what Age he performed his first Exploits; and I the rather think so, because *Fabius*, an Author elder than Either of those Historians, wrote, as *Livy* tells us, that towards the Decline of Life he was wont to say, that a State of Exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old Man than to Another.

(2) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith, that they considered his Death as a publick Calamity, and had a publick as well as private Mourning for him. But perhaps *Plutarch* means that they did not honour his Memory with any publick Monument.

General,

General, that should be Commander in chief of their joint Forces; which Dispute was carried on with so much fierceness, that it came at length to Bloodshed and Slaughter on both Sides. After This, they were defeated by the *Romans* in a pitch'd Battel, where not only *Tullus* lost his Life, but the principal Flower of their whole Army was cut in Pieces; so that they were forced to submit, and accept of Peace upon very dishonourable terms promising to observe the *Roman* Orders, and obey their Enemy in whatever he should impose.



The Comparison of Alcibiades with Coriolanus.

HAVING thus given an Account of as many of the Actions of these two great Men, as are come to our Knowledge, and which we thought worthy to be remember'd, it is easy to be seen that they are much upon the Level with respect to their (1) Exploits in War; for both the One and the Other have given clear Instances of their Courage and Fortitude; and when they have had the Command in Chief, they shewed equal Proofs of their Military Conduct and Capacity; unless Some may think *Alcibiades* the greater General of the Two, from the many Victories he obtained during the whole Course of his Life, by Sea as well as Land. But This is common to them Both, that whilst They had the chief Command in the Army, and fought in Person, the Affairs of their Country were in a

(1) In Order to make a true Judgment of the Actions of two Generals, we ought to consider what Sort of Enemies they had to do with, and the Times

wherein those Actions were performed; for those are Circumstances that may very much alter the Case on one Side or the Other.

prosperous Condition, but changed for the worse the Moment They changed Parties.

As to their Behaviour in point of Government, it is most certain that all wise Men have abhorred That of *Alcibiades* as too licentious, too much sullied with Debauch and Flattery; and that the *Romans* abominated That of *Coriolanus* as too haughty and austere, and favouring too much of Aristocracy. So that Neither of them is to be commended, if considered in that Capacity; tho' the mild and (1) popular Governor is much less to be condemned, than He that chuseth rather to oppress and tyrannize over the People than to be thought to cajole and flatter them; for if to wheedle the Populace in order to get the Rule over them be ignominious, it is no less so to get the Mastery of them by Fear, Terror and Oppression. Such a Proceeding is branded not only with Ignominy but Injustice.

It cannot be deny'd but that *Coriolanus* was full of Candor and Simplicity, whereas *Alcibiades* was made up of Cheat and Imposture. He is particularly reproach'd for the Trick he put upon the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, when he imposed upon them on purpose to renew the War, as we have it from *Thucydides*. However this Fetch in Politicks, tho' it necessarily engaged the *Athenians* in a ruinous, destructive War, yet it served more firmly to establish the Alliance with *Mantineæ*, and the *Grecians*, and to render it still more formidable, which was purely owing to his Skill and Dexterity. But was not (2) *Coriolanus* guilty of an Imposture too, when he

(1) *Plutarch*, after having condemned the two Extreams, at last prefers Mildness to Severity, as he has already done in his Comparison of *Theseus* and *Romulus*, where he saith, that of those two Defects, That of Rigour proceeds

from Pride and Self-love, and That of Mildness seems to be the Effect of Gentleness and Humanity.

(2) This double-dealing in *Coriolanus* was much more odious and criminal than That of *Alcibiades*; for *Alcibiades* impos'd upon the Enemies

he stirred up the *Romans* against the *Volsci*, by loading the Latter with an infamous Piece of Calumny during the Exhibition of the Publick Games, in which Some of them were gone to be Partakers, as is related by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*? and there is something in this Action which renders it more odious than That of *Alcibiades*; for He was not prompted to it by the Instigations of Ambition, and the Heats arising from Disputes in point of Government and Politicks, as was *Alcibiades*, but purely to gratify his Anger; (1) which, as *Dion* has well express'd it, *never pays for the Services it receives*. By this Means he laid waste many large Tracts in *Italy*, and sacrificed to the Resentment he had conceived against his Country a great Number of Cities, from Whom he never had received any Injury.

It must be allowed that *Alcibiades* also in his Passion was the Cause of many grievous Calamities to the *Athenians*: But He grew cool as soon as They repented; and being a second time driven into Exile he could not bear with Patience the Blunders committed by the Generals who had been appointed to succeed him, but sent, and warned them of the wrong Steps they were taking, and the Danger that threatned them; (*Aristides* indeed had done the same thing before for *Themistocles*) and, which of all the Actions of his Life is the most extolled, he went in Person to wait on those Generals, whom he knew to be none of his Well-wishers, shewed them wherein they had erred, and taught them what remained

Enemies of his Country for the Service of his Country, whereas *Coriolanus* circumvented His in Favour of the *Volscians*, the most dangerous of all her Enemies.

(1) *Plutarch* thinks *Coriolanus's* Procedure was much more culpable than That of *Alcibiades*, because what *Alcibiades* did was to

gratify his Ambition, and the sole Motive in *Coriolanus* was his Anger and Resentment. Now of the Two, Ambition is the more excusable, because her Aim is at Rewards, Honours and Dignities; whereas Anger has nothing in View but Horror and Misery, the constant Effects of Revenge.

to be done for their safety: Whereas *Coriolanus* not only punish'd the whole Body of a People for the Sake of a Party, thereby involving in the same Calamities the Innocent as well as Guilty, Those who bore a Part with him in the Injustice he had received, as well as Those who had been the Authors and Abettors of it; but being also inflexible to the many Messages and Embassies sent to him on purpose to efface and make him amends for one single Injury, he made it appear that he had the Ruin of his Country more in View than his own Re-establishment, when he rais'd that cruel War against them without so much as giving Ear to any Terms of Accommodation.

It may be said that there is This Difference between them; that *Alcibiades* returned not to *Athens* 'till he found himself in eminent Danger from the Ill-will and Distrust of the *Lacedæmonians*; and that, on the other hand, *Coriolanus* had no justifiable Pretence to forsake the *Volscians*, who had always us'd him well, having declared him their General with full Authority, and to the very last reposed the highest Confidence in him; herein very different from *Alcibiades*, who was rather abus'd than employ'd or trusted by the *Spartans*; and who, after having been the Jest of the City, and Sport of the Camp, found himself at last obliged to resort to *Tissaphernes*, unless it may be supposed that in Hopes of being recalled he made his Court (1) to that Officer on purpose to prevent the utter Ruin of his Country.

As for Wealth and Riches, *Alcibiades* made no Scruple of receiving Presents, but took with both Hands, without any regard to Honour or Decency. And as it was shamefully got, so was it more shame-

(1) For he prevented *Tissaphernes* from assisting the *Spartans* with all his Forces.

fully spent in Debauch and Luxury. Whereas *Coriolanus* could not be prevailed upon by his Generals to accept even of the Presents that had been offered him with all the Tokens of Honour and Distinction. Therefore when the Disputes arose about the canceling of the Debts he became still more insupportable to the People, who conceived that the Part he acted in that Affair tended not so much to the Benefit of the State, as it was designed to gaul Them with Insolence and Contempt.

It was not therefore without good Reason (1) that *Antipater*, in the Letter he wrote to *Alexander* advising him of *Aristotle's* Death, said, *that besides the other marvellous Talents wherewith that great Man was adorn'd, he had That of acquiring the Goodwill of every one.* For want of this Talent all *Coriolanus's* great Actions and Virtues were odious even to Those who received the most Benefit by them, who could not endure his Pride and invincible Obstinacy. Whereas *Alcibiades* so well knew how to win upon Those he had to converse and live withal, that it is not to be wondered at if when he did well his Actions were attended with Glory and Renown, and if he was beloved and honoured for his good Deeds, when even his Faults and Extravagances were, generally speaking, very agreeable, passing for Pieces of Gallantry and good Humour.

For this Reason tho' the One had been the Cause of many heavy Calamities to his Country, yet was he several times chosen Captain-General with absolute Authority; whereas the Other when he put up for the Consulship in the usual Forms, whilst his wonderful Exploits and signal Victories were fresh in Memory, yet was he repulsed with Dis-

(1) *Plutarch* mentions This in Condemnation of *Coriolanus's* too rigid Temper,

honour. (1) Thus the *Athenians* could not find in their Hearts to hate *Alcibiades*, tho' he had brought innumerable Calamities upon them; nor could the *Romans* be persuaded to love *Coriolanus*, notwithstanding the eminent Services he had done his Country, and the high Esteem he was in for his Virtue.

To This we may add, that *Coriolanus* did nothing considerable for *Rome* whilst he had the Command of her Armies, but did a great deal against her when at the Head of That of her Enemies; and that *Alcibiades*, whether in the Quality of a private Soldier, or a Commander, was signally serviceable to the *Athenians*; that when present he was always too many for his Enemies, and that they never could get the better of him but in his Absence. Whereas the *Romans* condemned *Coriolanus* to his Face; and he was at length slain by the *Volscians*, in reality, contrary to all Right both Divine and Human, but not without a Colour of Justice for having in Publick refused Peace to the Ambassadors, which yet in Private he granted to the Ladies; by which means, without healing the Breach, but leaving the Grounds of the War still to subsist, he unfortunately slip'd an Opportunity, which, if improv'd, would have been of singular Advantage to the *Volscians*, without whose Advice and Consent he ought not to have withdrawn the Forces, which had been entirely committed to his Conduct, if he had retain'd the least Sense of Justice, and of his Duty.

(1) One cannot place in a better Light the wide Difference there is between Complaisance and Severity. The Man that is affable and good-natured is belov'd even whilst he is committing an Injury, whereas the Man of a rough inflexible Temper is hated tho' he is useful. The Certainty of This is confirmed by a thousand Instances, and the Reason is very obvious. It is because Love and Hate equally give a Change to the Objects. Love, which is the Fruit of Complacency and Affability, turns Bad into Good; and Hate, which is the Effect of Pride and Obstinacy, turns Good into Bad.

If

If without any Consideration for the *Volsians* he had stir'd up the Flame purely to gratify his own Spleen and Resentment, and having satisfied That he had thought fit to put an End to the War, he ought not to have spar'd his Country for the Sake of his (1) Mother, but to have spar'd it with her, since his Mother and his Wife were only Part of his Country and of the City he was besieging; but to remain inflexible, and inhumanly to reject the publick Supplications, the Prayers of the Priests, the Submissions and Petitions of the Augurs, and afterwards relent (2) at his Mother's Entreaty, and withdraw the Forces; This was not to honour his Mother but dishonour his Country, which he did not save out of any virtuous Motive, but in Complaisance to a Woman; as if he had not owed so much Duty and Affection to his Country, as to have preserved her upon That single Consideration.

So that this Act of Grace was both odious and unacceptable, and claimed the Thanks of neither Party. He neither retreated at the Instance of Those against whom he had been engaged in War, nor

(1) This is founded upon an Opinion of the Philosophers, particularly the *Platonicks*, that our Country is more worthy of Respect, and ought to be had in more Honour than our Parents. I cannot imagine from whence those Republicans received that Sentiment; for certainly it is not founded on any Law Natural or Divine. On the contrary, by the Divine Law, next to God, we are to honour our Father and Mother, and we are not to respect our Father and Mother for the Sake of our Country, but to respect That for Their Sakes. The Preference given here by *Plutarch* to the Country may more properly be

claimed by Religion, which is undoubtedly preferable, not only to our Father and our Mother, but to every thing in Nature.

(2) I am of Opinion we ought to judge more favourably of this Behaviour in *Coriolanus*. If his Mother brought him to relent, it was not because Her Prayers had a greater Weight with him than Those of the Priests and the Publick, but because she found his Heart already moved and softened to her Hand. The last stroke of the Ax makes the lofty Oak to tumble; several preceding Strokes had undermined and weaken'd it, but still left it standing.

with the Consent of Those in whose Behalf he had undertaken it. The Cause of all which was that Austerity of his Manners, that Arrogance and Inflexibility of Mind, which is always abominated by the People, but when united with Ambition it becomes wild and ungovernable; for They who are possessed with these Vices cannot stoop so low as to ingratiate themselves with the Populace, as if they were above the Thoughts of Honours and Dignities; and yet when they are denied to them, they become inconsolable, and are stung to the quick with an implacable Resentment. Now there have been Some who could not brook stooping to the People, or currying Favour with them by servile Flattery; such were *Metellus*, *Aristides*, *Epaminondas*; but at the same time they had a thorough Contempt (1) for every thing the People could give, or take from them; and whenever they were banished, had received a Repulse, or been deeply fined, they never appeared enraged at the Ingratitude of their Fellow-Citizens, but knew how to Pardon the Moment the Others confess'd they had Offended. (2) That Man who will not condescend

(1) To despise the Vulgar, and at the same time despise That which is in their Power to bestow, is very consistent; but to contend for the Favours of the Vulgar, and yet contemn and ill use the Vulgar, is as monstrous as if we expected to take wholsom Water out of the Stream after we have poisoned the Fountain. The People must be tampered with and flattered, if we expect to have any Share in their Favours. *Epictetus* has very well said, *Thou art very unjust and insatiable if without parting with That which is usually given for the purchasing and obtaining of Prerogatives, Dignities, &c. thou*

pretendest to have them for nothing.

(2) This is true to a Demonstration. Honours and Dignities are not the Rewards of Merit, but must constantly be purchased by Flattery and Application. He to whom I never make my Court owes me nothing, much less does He whom I abuse and contemn. And as he owes me nothing he does me no Injustice in refusing Me. But to pretend to govern a Head giddy with Ambition, and prescribe it Rules to act consistently by, is as absurd an Undertaking as it would be to endeavour to match Reason with Folly.

to cajole the People, ought never to entertain a Spirit of Revenge against them ; for that furious Transport can proceed from nothing but an ungovernable Desire. As for *Alcibiades* he ingenuously confess'd that he loved Honours, and was sensibly touch'd when they were refus'd to him ; for which Reason he studied to get the Good-will of every Body by his Complaisance and Affability.

Coriolanus was the Reverse of This : his Pride and Vanity would not suffer him to ingratiate himself with the People, who only were able to confer Honours upon him, and yet when he was refused those Honours, his Ambition choaked him with Indignation and Affliction. This is the only Blot to be found in his Character ; in every thing else he was without a Blemish : For Temperance and a Contempt of Riches he may stand a Comparison with the most illustrious Examples of *Greece*, which is more than can be said of *Alcibiades*, who in that respect was the most profligate of Men, breaking through all the Obligations of Honour and Decency.

The End of the Second Volume.



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